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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

## SPECIAL NOTICE

Effective 1 June 1987 JPRS reports will have a new cover design and color, and some reports will have a different title and format. Some of the color changes may be implemented earlier if existing supplies of stock are depleted.

The new cover colors will be as follows:

CHINA.....	aqua
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SOVIET UNION.....	salmon
EAST ASIA.....	yellow
NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA...	blue
LATIN AMERICA.....	pink
WEST EUROPE.....	ivory
AFRICA (SUB-SAHARA).....	tan
SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY.....	gray
WORLDWIDES.....	pewter

The changes that are of interest to readers of this report are as follows:

USSR reports will become SOVIET UNION reports.

The USSR REPORT: NATIONAL ECONOMY will be titled SOVIET UNION/ECONOMIC AFFAIRS (UEA).

The USSR REPORT: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS will be titled SOVIET UNION/POLITICAL AFFAIRS (UPA).

The following Soviet journals will be added to those which are already issued in separate series:

- EKO: ECONOMICS & ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (UEO)
- THE WORKING CLASS & THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD (UNC)
- PEOPLES OF ASIA & AFRICA (UAA)
- MILITARY HISTORY JOURNAL (UMJ)
- FOREIGN MILITARY REVIEW (UFM)
- AVIATION & COSMONAUTICS (UAC)
- SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES (USS)

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PRAVDA EDITORIALIZES ON ROLE OF PARTY CONTROL, MONITORING

PM131041 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Party Control. To Enhance Its Effectiveness Under the Conditions of Restructuring"]

[Text] Our society is solving truly revolutionary tasks today. The party has elaborated a profoundly substantiated and comprehensive program which enjoys the unanimous support of the people. In order to ensure that everything planned materializes everywhere more swiftly, there is need for strict and precise party control in addition to improvement in the organization of affairs.

The party perceives control as an important concern of all its organizations and committees. The intensification of control is a necessary condition of our advance. The CPSU Central Committee January Plenum noted that one of the causes of the serious omissions in cadres policy which occurred in the recent past was the slackening of the role of control organs, whose work was frequently limited to superficial inspections and investigations of various complaints and day-to-day squabbles.

The monitoring activity of party organizations has been significantly stepped up now. What is the primary objective of this work? The main avenues of transformations in the economy and the social sphere. These are: the intensification of production and democratization of management, scientific and technical progress and enhancement of output quality, improvement of the agroindustrial complex and amelioration of people's living conditions. There is more rigorous control of the work and behavior of communists and leadership cadres, of how they implement the restructuring process. And certain results have already come to light wherever this is done comprehensively, persistently, and purposefully.

Reference may be made to the experience of the Ulyanovsk Oblast party organization. The substantial positive changes which occurred here recently are widely known. Well organized party control has helped. For example, the discipline of contractual deliveries was strengthened under its influence. The work of many enterprises and farms improved. And the moral climate in the oblast as a whole is different--there is stricter observance of the principles of social justice, the atmosphere in labor collectives is healthier, and people's mood is much better.

Time makes greater demands of the control commissions operating under party committees. The verification of execution is highlighted, and people must be held more accountable for observing party and state discipline, for the pure and honest image of party members. While showing concern for the restructuring of others, the commissions are called upon to effect their own restructuring, to bring the style and methods of control work in line with the nature and content of the problems being solved by the party.

The main issue is effective and fruitful control. This is determined to a large extent by the choice of questions to be tackled by party controllers. They must really be the most fundamental questions of our life. No time must be wasted, as in the past, on trivia.

But such instances are by no means yet completely a thing of the past. Letters to PRAVDA testify to the difficulties encountered in many places in the switch to complete financial autonomy and self-capitalization, how slowly new equipment is introduced at times, how many obstacles have to be overcome along the way to two- and three-shift working. It would seem that this is precisely where the party control commissions ought to apply their efforts. But they often stand aside and offer inadequate assistance in the assertion of the new methods of economic management. Of course, this is not in line with the spirit of the time, and radical measures are necessary to fundamentally change the prevailing situation.

There are many serious difficulties in the restructuring of the management apparatus' work. It is held back by the inertia of the bureaucratic style, the rule of paperwork, the flood of sessions and conferences. Here is something that party control must counter with particular firmness today! After all, bureaucratic habits pull back the cause of renewal. Therefore they must be fought resolutely and implacably.

The Central Committee January Plenum noted the exceptional topicality of the accelerated solution of pressing social problems. For a long time they were underestimated. And even now the desired positive changes have still not occurred everywhere. Monitoring of the implementation of the party's social policy must be conducted consistently and in depth in all sectors, in all republics and regions of the country. A struggle must also be waged with greater assertiveness for a healthy way of life and against drunkenness and alcoholism, which have been noticeably curtailed but have not yet finally surrendered their positions.

Speaking about the improvement of the style of party control, it ought to be noted that inspections are by no means an end in themselves. They must definitely result in changes for the better. But it is not everywhere that people are able to achieve this. A recent Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum said in particular that many, in fact very many inspections are carried out there, but they often simply fail to produce any results. This practice must be resolutely changed.

In people's minds party control is the embodiment of supreme principledness and genuine implacability toward shortcomings and any breaches of our life's norms.

As a rule, this is indeed how party control operates. But it has to be admitted bluntly that, so far, this is not true everywhere and always. The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee recently expelled from the party N. Kurkov, former chairman of Belogorod Oblispolkom. An absolutely fair decision. The only point is, why was it not made earlier by local party control organs? Why did they tolerate for so long the fact that this person led a loose life and abused his official position for mercenary purposes? There was, one might say, a shortage of principledness. It is necessary to ensure everywhere the statutory guarantees of the purity of party ranks, to get rid of the unworthy, and to step up the communists' vanguard role in the struggle against negative phenomena.

Particular attention must be given to instances of intolerance of criticism or persecution for critical remarks, instances which are, unfortunately, still frequent. Leaders of some ministries and departments, enterprises, or party committees at times treat those who criticize as annoying "disturbers of the peace." Press criticism is either ignored or muffled. All this is, of course, totally abnormal. Meanwhile, the party control commissions under the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and a number of Ukrainian Communist Party obkoms, under the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, and under the Irkutsk Party Obkom overlooked instances of the gross suppression of criticism and breaches of legality, and failed to evaluate them promptly.

The role of primary party organizations in stepping up party control must be enhanced. The exactingness of attitudes within labor collectives depends largely on them. But many primary organizations are still not militant enough. Commissions for the monitoring of administration activities hardly ever play their part here. Secretaries are frequently "in someone's pocket," and do not raise their voices in defense of justice. More attention must be given to developing democracy and openness in collectives by boosting the efficiency of party control. The broad masses of communists must be kept participants here, displaying genuine activeness and principledness and creating implacability toward shortcomings.

The potential of party control is great and multifaceted. To make fuller use of it means to help the party and the people implement more successfully the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress.

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CSO: 1800/599



PUBLIC VOTING HIT AS 'PLAYING AT DEMOCRACY'

PM071053 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by labor veteran Ye. Devyatisilnyy: "How to Vote?"]

[Text] Instrinskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast--The principle of the elective enterprise leader, established by the draft law, is an exceedingly important matter. It goes to the very heart of democracy, at least at the level of the enterprise, as the "first floor" of society.

But let us not forget that there have been cults of the individual, that there is flattery, toadyism, and servility, lies, fraud, and deceit, showiness, ostentation, and pretense, suppression of criticism, and abuse of position. In these conditions what is meant by the words of Article 6 Paragraph 3--"...the leader of an enterprise or component of an association is elected by a general meeting (conference) of the labor collective by secret ballot or public vote (at the discretion of the meeting or conference)..."?

To be frank, in present conditions a public vote is a license for staging a farce, a spectacle, for playing at democracy, for using the age-old, well-practiced strong-arm methods. Local bodies will do all they can to make the election, or rather the voting, public, to get their candidate elected.

They know perfectly well that by no means everyone would dare to object publicly--he would be frightened. They count on this when they push their own, nomenklatura candidate, their own man who knows how to salute. As a result, many an important, revolutionary measure will be compromised, with all the ensuing consequences.

There is also the problem that if some obstinate collective elects its own worthy candidate, rejecting the rayon's candidate, his life, that of the man chosen by the collective, will not be worth living--they will have his guts, and there will always be a reason for this, deliberately selected on the basis of prejudice and bias.

Incidentally, exactly 20 years ago (jubilee time!), in 1966 [as published], IZVESTIYA published an essay by journalists V.V. Pavlov (now dead) and N.A. Bykov entitled "Fighting Injustice." It was about the collective of the "Put k Kommunizmu" superior seed growing sovkhos in Kotovski Rayon, Odessa Oblast, defending its director--the writer of these lines--against monstrous persecution for writing a critical article entitled "Demand and Trust" (IZVESTIYA No 135, 1964).

Despite the defense, he had to go--at his own request, so called. He was given no housing. Up there, above the enterprise, everything remains the same.

So, I am proposing that the aforementioned point should be made in approximately the following way: "The leader of an enterprise or component of an association is elected by a general meeting (conference) of the labor collective only by secret ballot, with several candidates running" and so on, following the text of the draft law.

It is a case where, it would seem, democratic wording (saying that the collective itself decided how to vote--publicly or secretly) can be decisive and can emasculate democratism proper, that is, it can be just another case of window-dressing and pretense.

It must not be forgotten that the secret ballot is more than just a really objective and free expression of the collective's will on an important matter and more than just a guarantee that a worthy leader and organizer will be elected.

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PRAVDA VIEWS KOMSOMOL CONGRESS RESULTS

PM231145 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Being Worthy of the Times; 20th Komsomol Congress--A Congress of Young Guards of Restructuring"]

[Text] Spring, youth, renewal... These seemingly different words were the united symbols of the 20th Lenin Komsomol Congress held in Moscow which completed its work the day before yesterday. At their all-union council about 5,000 envoys of the country's young people collectively checked their life's course by the compass of restructuring and sought to clear their ship of everything alien preventing acceleration on the path toward its goal. In the life of the entire country on the threshold of the 70th anniversary of Great October, the congress was an important sociopolitical event mobilizing the youth to revolutionary transformations of our day.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the congress.

The congress' debates and its entire atmosphere fully accord with the present stage of Soviet society's development and reflected the Komsomol's understanding of its role and responsibility in the process of renewal of all aspects of society's life. The young people supported the innovatory course of the party and its 27th Congress. They are joining in restructuring, understanding that the destiny of restructuring is the destiny of the motherland and their own destiny. The Komsomol's place is in the vanguard of this work, on the hardest, most crucial sectors.

Above all it is a case of intensifying social production, pursuing a strong social policy, and activating the human factor. It has fallen to the present young generation to take part in a very large-scale modernization of the economy based on the organic union of the scientific and technical revolution and the advantages of socialism. That is why the front line of the struggle for the acceleration of socioeconomic development passes through each workplace, through the consciousness of every young person.

Young people comprise nearly one-third of those employed in industry, construction, the agroindustrial complex, and transport, half of those employed in power engineering, instrument building, and radio technology, and over 40 percent of

those employed in trade and the services sphere. This in itself largely determines their role in resolving the complex innovatory tasks of the 12th 5-Year Plan. However the congress noted, tested forms of the Komsomol's participation in national economic building bear the powerful imprint of the period of the economy's extensive development. The new conditions--the transfer of the center of gravity from quantitative indicators to quality and efficiency, the transition to economic accountability and self-financing--link each person's interest with end results and demand from young people a new economic thinking and sense of being the proprietors of production.

The komsomol must overcome its entrenched "slogan approach" to the solution of national economic tasks. Instead of disseminating frequently artificial initiatives and examples, specific work is needed to help millions of young men and women to fully realize their abilities, knowledge, and creative energy in labor. Youth teams' shock work should be based not only on enthusiasm but primarily on the use of progressive forms of organizing and remunerating labor, modern equipment and technology, and the ability to manage production. The acceleration of scientific and technical progress is becoming the main avenue for the komsomol in the current 5-year plan. We need real breakthroughs, the foundations for which are being laid today, in industry and especially in machine building.

The congress delegates said that a single public and state system for young people's scientific and technical creation must be created in the country, the mastering of the foundations of computer skills must be expanded, work must be expanded to create quality control groups [gruppy kachestva], the continuous improvement of qualifications and the mastering of the experience of exports must be ensured, and effectiveness and prestige must be returned to the councils of young scientists and specialists.

The time has also come to change the nature of the Komsomol's collaboration with ministries and departments on shock construction sites--it must be switched to a contract basis and the Komsomol organizations' rights there must be really expanded. Participation in the implementation of the Country's Food Program also remains a very important matter for young people.

Criticism of the exploitative attitude toward young people was heard loudly at the congress. V. Aksenov, team leader at the "Nizheangarsktransstroy" trust, cited the example of how the Baykal-amur Railroad construction workers' exploits and records have been loudly praised while at the same time over 60,000 families of Baykal-amur Railroad workers still have no permanent housing. The provision of sociocultural establishments in new economic development regions is considerably below the all-union level. Young men and women are also keenly aware of substantial cultural and consumer differences between the city and the countryside. Other stagnation phenomena have accumulated in the solution of young people's social problems yet the komsomol Central Committee and komsomol committees have for too long taken a stance of nonintervention.

Of these problems the housing problem is particularly acute. The youth housing complexes have become a real possibility for accelerating its solution. These are essentially a new form of socialist communal living which develops relations of friendship, comradeship, and mutual aid. The komsomol committees' task

is to prevent the bureaucratization of a vital matter and to prevent speculation on this most acute problem and the setting of young people against the older generation.

Concern for the young family, the improvement of the production and sale of the range of goods for young people, the consolidation of the material base of leisure, including the construction of clubs and culture centers in rural areas, the asertion of a healthy life style among young people, the development of sport and vacation activities, an implacable struggle against drunkenness, drug addiction, and holliganism--in brief, the entire complex of young people's social problems should be within the purview of the komsomol committees.

An intelligent person devoted to the cause of socialism, someone who is competent and professionally trained, is needed for restructuring. The reform of the general educational school and measures to further develop higher and secondary specialized education in the country are aimed at creating a new system for people's instruction and education. But the school reform is so far marking time. The party and soviet organs are now seeking resolute restructuring in the educational system. For its part the komsomol is obliged to head the campaign for knowledge. After all it is essentially a case of ensuring the constant renewal and enrichment of society's intellectual potential.

Man's material and social position in our society must be justified by labor and labor alone. It is the komsomol's business to stand guard over the young people's social confidence. It is called on to be the soul of broad and open [glasnoye] competition among young people--competition in study and work, in artistic and scientific and technical creation, and in the organization of leisure.

Now as never before there is a social need for the komsomol to act as young people's active political organization. Taking part in the solution of the most diverse questions of the country's life, the komsomol must always and in everything be mindful of Lenin's instruction to lead the younger generation behind it, to head it both organizationally and ideologically.

At the plant and stockraising unit, in the school and vuz, in the design bureau and on the theater stage--everywhere the komsomol's restless, bold voice is needed prompting people to action, creation, and innovation. That is why, it was stated from the congress rostrum, the profound contradictions between the komsomol's democratic nature and its bureaucratic leadership methods have become absolutely intolerable. The desire for the organization's numerical growth at any price, "initiative mania," the desire for a swift, victorious report, the ability to see through something which has been started, fussing with sessions, and paperwork--those are the most characteristic manifestations of formalism in the komsomol organs' work. As a result trust in them has declined and their living tie with young people has been severed.

The congress stated most specifically that the main responsibility for clearing away the barriers of bureaucratism and formalist rests with the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, the republican, kray, oblast, city, and rayon komsomol committees and their cadres and aktiv. But this is also a matter for all komsomol members. Democratization must touch all aspects of the komsomol's life.

During restructuring the primary organizations' independence must be expanded and their responsibility must be enhanced. The most important form of direct democracy--the komsomol meeting--must be given back its status as supreme organ in the eyes of komsomol members. All committees must learn to work in an atmosphere of complete openness: In the komsomol, as throughout the country, there can be no zones or workers outside control, outside criticism. These and other principles of life within the komsomol are enshrined in the Komsomol Statute, with the changes which have been introduced, which was adopted at the congress.

Openness, criticism, and the further development of democratic principles are not a temporary requirement but the motive forces of society's renewal. Young people are called on to master the entire arsenal of means of the power of the people, to breathe their energy into the democratization of the country's life. Only on the basis of this real experience can the komsomol form in young men and women civicism and a communist world outlook, patriotic pride and proprietorial sedulity, principledness, and firmness of character.

Restructuring needs independent people who do not seek instructions for each petty task but take responsibility. Restructuring needs people with socialist ideological conviction capable of coping with their moral duty. And it is very important that it is precisely in the years of youth, the years of greatest receptiveness and interest in life, that our young people should turn to the life-giving source of Marxism-Leninism. Linking study with practical deeds in Lenin's way, the komsomol must help young people in developing clear views of the world--as a school of civic courage and political maturity, a school of patriotism and internationalism. This role of the komsomol's is graphically manifested in the struggle for peace, in the consolidation of the friendship and mutual understanding of all the planet's democratic young people, and in the defense of their right to live, work, and study under conditions of peace, freedom, and social progress.

During the days of the congress' work the country's young men and women felt with new force the party's concern for the komsomol. The CPSU understands the leadership of the komsomol as rendering it constant comradely aid. Giving young people the scope for independence, sparing them petty tutelage and supervision, educating them in real deeds and trust--that is the meaning of this concern.

Under the leadership of Lenin's party, together with the entire Soviet people, the young people are continuing the great cause of October. The congress' businesslike mood confirmed most obviously that the komsomol has taken to heart the party's call to advance, to shift the center of gravity to practical work. Acting, acting, and acting again--that is the guarantee of the success of restructuring at the present stage. Fewer big words, more practical deeds with a big content. The party and people believe that young people will reliably carry on the revolutionary tradition of generations and will be worthy of their time and their country.

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CSO: 1800/599



UKRAINIAN CP CC CALLS ATTENTION TO SOCIAL SCIENCES PROBLEMS

AU040905 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Feb 87 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Overcoming the Lag in the Development of Social Sciences"  
--passage between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has examined the progress made by the institutes of the Social Sciences Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in restructuring in line with the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress./

In the adopted decision it was noted that, in implementing the 27th CPSU Congress decisions, the scientific collectives determined areas of priority in research, and got down to work. A number of works carried out in the field of philosophy, economic theory, history, law, linguistics, and international problems have won recognition. Proposals have been made with regard to improvements in the economic mechanism, and to changes in the structure and methods of economic management.

At the same time, from the positions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum it is evident that the pace and quality of the work which is being done do not fully meet the requirements of restructuring and of the party's cadre policy. There is no adequate persistence in implementing the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee decision on the work performed by the institutes of the Social sciences Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The research made by economic-type institutes still falls short of the needs of the economic changes. Poor treatment has been given to many problems which have become pressing in political economy. To the detriment of research into topical problems, the philosophers are dealing with issues which are removed from practice, and pay insufficient attention to contradictions in socialist society. No expected increase has been achieved by the sociologists in the effectiveness of their research. The lawyers have paid too little attention to the treatment of problems concerning the development of socialist democracy and self-management. In works by the historians, factual accounts [faktologizm] continue to prevail over the analysis of historical experience, and temporization has not been overcome in highlighting events. Literary and art critics do not profoundly study the current processes in society's cultural life, questions concerning literary and art sociology. Social sciences do not effectively respond to the needs of life. Slow progress has been made in implementing the Ukrainian Communist Party

Central Committee Commission to propose ways to apply in practice the research results achieved by social sciences. Economic planning organs and other departments have not shown appropriate interest in applying rationalizing proposals made by scientists.

In the Institutes of Archeology, Art Criticism, Folklore and Ethnography, the progress made in restructuring has been very sluggish. These institutes have not created an atmosphere of adherence to principles, of general and mutual exactingness, of openness in revealing shortcomings and omissions; there is too little criticism and self-criticism. Many scientific subunits are just marking time and do not add new ideas which drive science forward. There have been very few changes in the work of party organizations. In the Institutes of Economics, Archeology, Philosophy, Art criticism, Folklore and Ethnography, they follow their usual schedules, and lack initiative.

Many institutes have made serious miscalculations in cadre work. There are obvious disproportions in their age structure. There are no real leader reserves. Among the research fellow, there is a noticeable aging trend. The effectiveness of post-graduate studies does not increase. The role of social scientific journals in invigorating the republic's scientific life is still insignificant.

The leadership of the Social Sciences Section bears particular responsibility for the slow progress made in restructuring the institutes' activity. There is evidence of obvious marking time, of reluctance to change the accustomed forms and methods of work among cadres and of control over scientific collectives, and the assessments of shortcomings and miscalculations lack sharpness and adherence to principles. Comrade I.I. Lukinov, vice president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, has failed to exert his effective personal influence in all subunits of the section. Comrade A.N. Shlepakov, academician secretary in the Economics Department, does not coordinate the most important economic researchers. Comrade V.M. Babiy, academician secretary in the History, Philosophy, and Law Department, lacks deep insight into the activity of the institutes. Comrade V.M. Rusanovskiy, academician secretary in the Belles Lettres, Language, and Art Criticism Department, is not exacting with regard to institute leaderships and unit chiefs. Leaders of the institutes have to work much harder. Some deputy directors and unit chiefs treat their duties without appropriate responsibility. The material-technical base of many scientific institutions within the section still does not meet the present requirements.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has called the attention of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Presidium (Comrades B. Ye. Paton and I.I. Lukinov) to the serious shortcomings in the work, to the sluggishness and lack of persistence in restructuring the activity of the institutes within the Social Sciences Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

The leadership of the Social Sciences Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, institute directors, and party organization secretaries have been instructed to scrutinize their work profoundly and self-critically and to take energetic steps to eliminate the shortcomings.



For social scientists, it is a matter of paramount importance to concentrate all forces and resources on implementing the decisions of the 27th Party Congress, of the CPSU Central Committee decision on the journal KOMMUNIST, on enhancing Marxist-Leninist thought in the republic, and on fostering the effect of social sciences on the settlement of imminent practical questions. In scientific work, priority has to be given to research into contemporary processes of accelerating the country's socioeconomic and cultural development, and to problems which, as noted at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, used to be treated in a simplified manner and were frequently deprived of their theoretical meaning and significance. The Ukrainian Gosplan, the ministries and departments concerned, along with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, have been instructed to draw up a clear-cut system for the systematic application in economic and ideological practice of the most important scientific research works in social sciences.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has instructed the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Presidium and Social Sciences Section to restructure their work among cadres in line with the requirements of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It is essential to settle imminent cadre problems in time, and to replace those leaders who are unable to ensure the entrusted sector and who remain indifferent to the changes which are taking place. The Kiev Gorkom and Obkom have been instructed to strengthen their businesslike assistance to party committees in the Social Sciences Section's institutes, in their branches, departments, and units in restructuring the work of the scientific collectives.

The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Presidium, Kiev Gorispolkom, as well as Voroshilovgrad, Ivano-Frankovsk, Kharkov, and Chernovtsy Oblispolkoms have been requested to take immediate steps to improve conditions for scientists' fruitful work, and to strengthen the material-technical base of institutes, their branches, departments, and units. In accordance with the established procedure, proposals have to be submitted on creating a Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology and a social sciences information center, including a library and a manuscripts depository.

/12232

CSO: 1830/477

KOLBIN CHAIRS MEETING ON EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

PM011341 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 87 p 1

[KazTAG Report: "Making Rational Use of Labor Resources"]

[Text] A session of the Coordinating Council chaired by G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, has been held at the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. Questions of the use of labor resources were discussed.

The briefing by S.U. Dzhandosov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Labor, and the speeches noted that total labor resources have increased by more than 0.5 million people since 1980. However, their employment has remained as before, that is, lower than in the country as a whole. The lowest level of employment is in Kzyl-Orda, Dzhezkazgan, Dzhambul, and Chimkent Oblasts. Labor resources are poorly utilized mostly in small towns, settlements, and rural rayons primarily in the southern oblasts. The reason is not so much poor population mobility as underdevelopment of the network of enterprises.

During the last 5-year plan enterprise subsidiaries and shops were set up and they have proven their worth. Preparations are now under way in 29 satellite-towns, rayon centers, and worker settlements for the commissioning of new small light and local industry production facilities and enterprises processing agricultural raw materials. The creation of public catering and consumer service cooperatives and cooperatives producing goods in mass demand will also increase employment.

Multiple-shift working must be more quickly introduced at existing production facilities, which will permit faster job placement for everyone who wants work. A sociological poll of more than 110,000 people showed that more than 96,000 women would like to work but cannot because of the shortage of places in children's preschool establishments.

At present the provision of children's establishments in the republic only amounts to half the requirement. By the end of the 5-year plan it is planned to commission kindergartens and nurseries with approximately 3,500 places. But to wait for this to occur is to show a wasteful, careless attitude toward

resources. Wide use must be made as soon as possible of individual and home work and the reduced workday. Family cooperatives and kindergartens on cooperative principles are a good reserve. Several republics have experience in such work and it must be imitated. The family contract should be given its due. It is being quite intensively introduced in the southern oblasts--in cotton growing, beet growing, and corn growing.

In some sectors there is patently no shortage of workers in the State Agro-industrial Committee and Ministry of Power and Electrification Systems, in construction, and in the newly-opened Caspian and Ekibastuz areas. Redistribution of the labor force is being employed to smooth out the disproportion between the availability of labor resources and the demand for them. Nearly 8,000 families and 70,000 workers will move to sparsely populated areas under organized recruitment arrangements.

But this type of migration is not the way out of the situation. The main emphasis will be put on the reorientation of vocational and technical schools. In Kzyl-Orda and Chimkent, though there are surplus labor resources, there are vacancies in enterprises. Production needs skilled cadres. However, in the northern oblasts and central Kazakhstan there is a greater shortfall in admissions to vocational and technical schools since there are insufficient labor resources here. In some areas there is an overabundance of some specialties and a shortage of others. The need for deeper study of the requirements for workers in the oblasts, ministries, and departments with regard to not only quantitative but also qualitative indicators was pointed out. In areas where there are surplus labor resources it is very important to train skilled cadres for industrially developing regions. Recruitment to vocational schools must be carried out in the light of all this.

The State Committee for Labor and the oblsipolkoms, together with vocational and technical education organs, were instructed to introduce a contract system of recruitment to vocational and technical schools. Then enterprises needing workers will not only take their allocation of graduates but will also endeavor to retain them in production and create the appropriate conditions for them more quickly. Nonobservance of contractual obligations by the administration could mean a refusal to train cadres for that enterprise in the future. The creation of construction teams--students, Komsomol, and contract teams--demands more attention. However, for this it is necessary to build housing more energetically and improve cultural and consumer services.

The release of workers kept on over and above the norms laid down for enterprises remains an important reserve. In Kustanay Oblast construction organizations alone more than 6,000 people were kept on over and above the plan. The intensification of production presupposes wider mechanization of labor-intensive processes and the introduction of progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration, and hence the growth of its productivity and rational redistribution of resources among sectors.

A strained situation with regard to labor resources has been created in agriculture. Here it is especially necessary to show concern for retaining

vocational and technical school graduates in the localities--providing them with good, modern technology, accommodation, and other things. Manual labor influence the decline in the prestige of worker trades in the State Agro-industrial Committee, so job certification and the introduction of industrial working methods must be accelerated.

The republic's State Committee for Labor is instructed before the end of April to prepare proposals designed to smooth out the disproportion between the availability of labor resources and demand in sectors and regions and ensure the full employment of the able-bodied population.

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CSO: 1830/499

TAJIK PRIME MINISTER ON SPECIFIC LABOR RESOURCE PROBLEM AREAS

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 20 Jan 87 p 2

[Report by I. Kh. Khayeyev, chairman of the TaSSR Council of Ministers: "Manpower Resources in the Service of the Five-Year Plan: From the TaSSR CP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Excerpt] As has already been reported, the Fifth Plenum of the TaSSR CP Central Committee was held on 17 January. Chairman of the TaSSR CP Central Committee I. Kh. Khayeyev delivered an address entitled "On the Status and Measures for Radical Improvement in the Use of the Republic's Manpower Resources in Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress". He said:

"The course which the 27th CPSU Congress developed to accelerate our country's social and economic development requires, as we all know, increased effectiveness in our public production, rational use of all our resources and maximum effort to galvanize the human factor. Of these, the problem which is of particular and paramount importance to us is that of using our manpower resources, or else increasing them, which stems primarily from our having the nation's highest birth-rate, and which is growing at a rate so high as to outstrip the increase in the number of available workplaces. During the 11th Five-Year Plan period alone, the republic's manpower resources increased by 16.9 percent, with the number of workers engaged in public production and education increasing by only 13.7 percent. This shows that we need a radical change in the methods used to solve problems related to bringing the unemployed segment of the population into socially useful work.

We have greatly stepped up the work we are doing to effect this. First, we had to provide a new interpretation of the work we did prior to now, and to analyze it self-critically, concentrating on the mistakes and miscalculations we made. Periodic priority measures were adopted which never penetrated, as they say, below the surface. At the same time, we had to develop a tactical and strategic long-term program. We formed a commission to work up proposals for improving the way we use our manpower resources and for involving these people more fully in public production.

We have determined our basic directions and goals for improving the structure of the republic's manpower resources balance during the 12th Five-Year Plan period and up to the year 2000 and have specified concrete measures and



assignments for our ministries, departments and executive committees of soviets of people's deputies. The execution of these assignments is the paramount means for accelerating the republic's social and economic development and increasing its contribution to the country's unified national economic complex. This is apparently the position from which the present TaSSH CP Central Committee Plenum must now examine its effort to improve the way we use our manpower resources.

We should mention that it still fails to meet fully the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress for accelerating the pace of social and economic development or the tasks assigned us by the CPSU Central Committee. We have not yet succeeded in making any change in preparing conditions for fully employing the able-bodied members of the republic's population in public production, since the departments of the Tajikistan CP Central Committee and the republican Council of Ministers, and local ministries and departments, party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol agencies are still frequently implementing the outlined program in disinterested fashion, with no hint of the required businesslike attitude. This, as a result, poses the threat that the assignment to bring in an additional 200,000 persons in unemployed manpower resources will not be carried out during this five-year plan period.

It is a disquieting situation overall, one which needs to be immediately reorganized and which requires that the level of all organizational activities and ideological education work be sharply raised as concerns using manpower resources more fully and rationally, with requisite consideration given to the specific features characteristic of this problem within this republic. As demonstrated by practice, scientific developments and research conducted by scientists, these features consist in the following:

First, data from a mass survey of the working-age population conducted last year show that women make up 94 percent of the people not employed in public production. Of the sum total of unemployed persons, 22.9 percent reside in cities, with the other 77.1 percent living in the country. Of the 234,000 persons employed in fields other than public production, 161,000 persons of working age expressed the desire to work and about 93 percent of these were women. Consequently, our basic orientation must be towards setting up industries which employ predominantly female labor.

Second, this concerns the age composition of the republic's population, a substantial portion of which are children. The per capita income of our population is the country's lowest. From this we deduce that there is an imperative need to do everything possible to create new workplaces as fast as possible, even if the entry-level wages are not high.

Third, in agricultural production overall, the number of workers needed per single hectare of arable land, per ruble of gross output, and per conventional unit of equipment is much higher than the average union level or the existing norms. This is why our villages are now such a fecund source of workers who can join the ranks of industrial production, but as they do, the number of workers who need to be relocated increases greatly. These people constitute a



tremendous reserve of manpower resources suitable for the development of industry, construction, and the field of maintenance. But it has gone practically unconsidered in any calculations or balances whatsoever.

Fourth, by extensively introducing the advances made in scientific and technical progress and using them to increase labor productivity sharply, by raising wages and salaries in the productive sphere and cutting back on the number of workers, by introducing different types of collective forms of labor organization and wages in agriculture and finally, in view of our manpower resources situation, we need to effect the greatest possible yield from every unit of equipment, from every square meter of productive area and from every hectare of land. It is this intensive utilization of our production potential which is the primary way to involve the unemployed segment of the able-bodied population in public production.

We must combine the setting up of new workplaces fitted with up-to-date equipment and the latest production methods with the development of production of the simplest products using locally-obtained materials as much as possible, all of which requires that this be based on the specific demographic features of each region, i.e. the availability of, and the prospects for developing the manpower resources of a given region.

Finally, we should place a great deal of emphasis on the question of personal subsidiary plots. It is no secret that these plots are the source of a substantial quantity of food products, including over 35 percent of our meat and about half of our milk. This sector also produces a substantial portion of our fruits and vegetables. This is why, while accelerating the development of production in the public sector, we must not cut back on the volumes produced in the personal plots tended by our citizens.

As we can see, the problem of using the republic's manpower resources rationally is many-sided, and requires a multidimensional approach.

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## PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

### USMANKHODZHAYEV ATTENDS MEETING ON UZBEK WATER USE PROBLEMS

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 13 Jan 87 p 1

[Report by the Uzbek Telegraph Agency: "To Water Resources--Effective Use"]

[Text] Hand in hand with the farmer and the livestock farmer works the land reclamation specialist: On their common efforts depend the harvest of fields and gardens and the productivity of the farms. The development of this cooperation was the subject of discussion at an expanded session of the collegium of the UzSSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources.

The past year has once again confirmed the significance of the measures of the Soviet state aimed at the development and efficient utilization of the land and water potential. Artificial seas, a developed network of canals, pumping stations, and artesian wells, have helped to mitigate the consequences of a lack of water. There has been a reduction in the consumption of water per integrated hectare, and the reclamation land improvement was continued.

But by far not all resources were put into operation. Serious shortcomings were permitted. Thus, the coefficient of water use is low in Navoiyskaya, Kashkadarinskaya, Surkhandarinskaya, Samarkandskaya, and Bukharskaya oblasts; moreover, there has been an increase in the frequency of cases of water collection above the norm. Deadlines for the cleaning of the irrigation and drainage network. The bad state of a number of canals, locks, and measuring devices led to losses of precious irrigation moisture, and the siltation of drains and collectors had a negative effect on the health of arable lands.

Serious damage is done to the cause by the delay and frequent corrections of the planning estimates. Poor use is being made of the capacity of the industrial, construction, and assembly enterprises of the sector--the shift system is low, the idle time is great, and the output of defective products is permitted. Progressive methods of management of production and labor organization--cost accounting and the brigade contract--are being introduced slowly. The scientific institutions owe a debt to practice. Thus, methods for the repeated use of moisture, the regulation of the level of subsoil waters, and the desalinization of soils are being developed with insufficient depth and are being slowly introduced.

Judging on the basis of forecasts, at present we will have to work again in conditions of the shortage of water. Meanwhile the proper conclusions from the

lessons of the past year have not been drawn. There is a delay in the cleaning of the irrigation and drainage network; moreover, frequently the equipment is idle or operative in one shift. The canals are being concreted slowly. In a number of cases, proper attention is not being given to environmental protection measures and water conservation technologies.

At the session of the collegium it was emphasized--land reclamation specialists do not have an in-between season; they have already entered into the struggle for the harvest. Thus, it is necessary to conduct in good time flushings in accordance with the requirements and moisture-loading irrigations. This will improve the state of the land, make it possible to receive shoots on the basis of natural moisture, and save hundreds of millions cubic meters of water for vegetation irrigation.

Measures have been mapped out for the improvement of construction and reconstruction of irrigation and reclamation installations, projects designated for social and cultural use, the increase in personnel skills, and the mastery of progressive methods of management and new technologies.

Confidence was expressed in the fact that the land reclamation specialists will make a worthy contribution to the realization of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and will greet the 70th anniversary of October with the fulfillment of the plans and socialist obligations.

I. B. Usmankhodzhayev, the first secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, spoke at the session of the collegium.

I. Kh. Dzhurabekov, the first deputy chairman of the UzSSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the UzSSR State Agroindustrial Committee, took part in the work of the collegium.

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CSO: 1830/382

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

UZBEK PEOPLE'S CONTROL COMMITTEE DECRIES CONSTRUCTION LOSSES

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by S. Akbarov, inspector of the UzSSR People's Control Committee, and N. Gladkov, PRAVDA correspondent, UzSSR: "Wherever One Looks...A Raid by PRAVDA to Examine the Construction of Housing and Social, Cultural and Consumer Projects"]

[Text] The hospital in Shakhrisabz and apartment houses in Kitab, the kindergarten at the horse studfarm imeni Budennyi and the bath-house in Yakkabag--all of these projects of the collectives of the Trust No 1 of the Kashkadarinskiy Oblast Agroindustrial Construction Association should have been handed over for operation in September of last year. But they were not handed over even in January.

It could be worse if not one trust had fulfilled the task with respect to the introduction of housing. But you see, 33 "construction" ministries, departments and ispolkoms of local Soviets in Uzbekistan--more than one-third of the total number--failed to cope with the plan. Moreover, the plan for housing construction was "obstructed" during the preceding year as well.

But, if we talk with the chairmen of the oblispolkoms, let us say, of Syrdarinskaya Oblast--I. Kuchkarov, Surkhandarinskaya Oblast--R. Ergashev, the minister of the construction materials industry--G. Isayev, and the minister of grain products--Kh. Kuybazarov, there is an acute shortage of housing. There is also a shortage of schools, pre-school institutions, and hospitals. However, one cannot see that these executives, who came forward in the role of clients ordering these projects, took measures to speed up construction.

The following also happens. A house is built in some city or settlement, and then it becomes clear that, because of defects, it is impossible to live in it. A hospital is erected, but it cannot accept patients.

In the Statistical Administration of the republic we were shown a list of buildings that were crossed out from book-keeping because of the low quality of work execution. We were shown the list and were warned on the spot: The list is far from complete. The defects are so many that they defy calculation. On this list there are a number of apartment houses erected in Bukhara, schools in Karshi, Gallyaaral, Dustlik, the rayon communications centers in Buka and Pskent, and the

vocational-technical school in Romitan. The geography, as we see, is extensive.

What is concealed behind the word "imperfections"? For an example, let us take a school with a capacity for 1,176 pupils, which was accepted in June of the past year in the settlement Karasu of Tashkent Oblast. On the day of the examination, and it took place 2 months after the handing over, the school had no water and electric lights and the sewage system did not work. In Nukus, in Ulitsa Dzhumanazarova, they have still not had time to build the house which was given the number 42, and, as the State Construction Inspection established, because of the deformation of the block wall, it became hazardous. The builders lined the walls with brick not of the right brand, the floor slabs were not placed on reinforced concrete belts, but on the brickwork itself. This is why the house began to collapse. The same happened in Bukhara in the construction of the children's block of a hospital for infectious diseases.

In discussion with the trusts in charge and with the chiefs of the administrations, we had to hear: "Previously, projects were handed over even without a roof." An inauspicious conclusion, let us say. . . .

Low quality is usually explained by the fact that there is a shortage of cement, wood, and equipment. But, it would seem, given the present attitude toward resources, they will always be in short supply. In the Fergana Assembly Administration of the Ministry for Assembly and Special Construction Work of the republic, for one construction superintendent's office alone, 455 Venetian blind lattices, almost 19 tons of metalwork, 175 meters of air ducts, and many other valuable products were written off in one year. The managers of the Engelskaya Mobil Mechanized Column in the same Fergana supplied on the black market more than 10 tons of galvanized steel and 8 tons of ferrous metals. In the Uzbek Glavstroydrevprom [Main Construction Administration for the Timber Industry], due to the violation of manufacturing methods alone, during a little more than a year so much wood was overexpended that joiner's products for half a million rubles could have been manufactured from it.

Still greater losses in the Ministry of Construction of the republic. During 1 year, 18,300 tons of metal, more than 77,000 tons of cement, and 658,000 square meters of soft roofing were expended above the norm. With these resources, construction and assembly work valued at tens of millions of rubles could have been carried out.

The disorder is frequently justified by the shortage of workers, especially highly skilled workers. But where take them from? In the erection of the Gulistan'skiy, Dzhizak'skiy, Karshin'skiy, and Urgench'skiy integrated house-building combines, housing for the workers, following the example of the Ministry of Construction of the republic, was excluded from the plan. The question arises: Will many volunteers be found to work in an enterprise where the elementary conditions do not exist?

First of all, the reasons for the lag lie in the irresponsible attitude of the executives of the construction ministries to projects of social and consumer designation. In March of the past year, the republic People's Control Committee established that out of 27 schools, kindergartens, hospitals and polyclinics accepted for operation, 20 turned out to be unfinished. All of them began to



operate only several months later after the introduction. In September they were again examined, and again, out of 200 houses and projects for social, cultural and consumer use surveyed, 116 were accepted with gross violations of construction norms and regulations. And even now the situation is not much better. As if the minister of construction, A. Manannikov, the chairman of the Uzbek Agroindustrial Construction Association, B. Khamidov, and the chief of the Main Construction Administration attached to the Ispolkom of the Tashkent City Soviet of People's Deputies, K. Dudin, had not promised to take measures in regard to the prevention of the turning over for operation projects with imperfections and low quality of work.

The question arises: But why do the local Soviets accept buildings which are unfit for operation? One can explain this by only one thing--a lack of adherence to principles, the reluctance of many executives of local organs of power to firmly stand up for the party and state position.

Low quality of work and the handing over of unfit projects could be prevented by the Bank for Financing Capital Investments and the inspections of the State Architectural and Construction Control. But they are most often limited to communications to the organs of statistics concerning cases of scandalous construction that have already occurred. The lack of real control during the course of the execution of work and rigid requirements when buildings are accepted also "work" for defects.

In the discussions, many specialists suggested the introduction of state acceptance of new projects. "Where, but in construction," Ye. Em, the deputy chief of the republic State Construction Inspection, declared, "do we need to do this above all? The attitude of people depends on the quality of work. Competition for the best house of the year, the quarter. . . could play a considerable role in increasing the level of housing construction."

It appears that, in order to accelerate the construction of housing, we must more actively develop the "workers' relay-race" and the mutual assistance of factories producing parts for use by another and builders, installation workers, planners, transportation workers, and manufacturers of materials and designs. For the time being, instead of cooperation, they have only mutual reproaches.

8970

CSO: 1830/382



IZVESTIYA REPLIES TO CRITIC OF OPENNESS IN JOURNALISM

PM161045 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 1

[A. Plutnik article under the rubric "Topical Subjects": "The Truth Is Not Private Opinion"]

[Text] The latest editorial post produced a letter from Rostov-on-don signed with the initials V.S.Ye. In it the author bemoans his lot and congratulates us, "members of the press." The reason for both is the same: the "protracted period of openness and truth." He writes: "I personally do not like this broad access to life behind the scenes among the authorities. It basically compromises leading staff. You will say, perhaps, that I am only saying this because I am actually a member of this staff myself. But journalists I know share my opinion. Although it seems to me that everyone employed in the mass information sphere should generally be feeling overjoyed in the new climate--it has made your work so much easier and more simple. You can write about whatever you come across--and this will be called the 'truth.'"

Let me say immediately: No, this is certainly not called truth. The truth is not "whatever we come across," and it is not someone's totally subjective opinion--however unexpected and effective it may be. Even when someone sincerely speaks his mind, this still does not mean that he is speaking the truth. The truth is not a private opinion but part of the absolute truth essential to society for its normal development.

This is not an isolated case of someone being dissatisfied with openness: At a number of conferences, someone has only had to utter a reproach directed at the press and quite a burst of applause has ensued. Certain people would like to revert to how things were done in the past, when the newspapers rarely ventured to make a serious point without reaching an agreement first and obtaining the necessary permission. They would like to revert to the time when the press was not--at least, not to extent it is now--the mouthpiece of progressive public opinion and did not reflect the urgent problems of social development with the kind of graphic detail it does not.

One could not have expected any other reaction to the changes which have been made. For too long broad access to information has been a privilege--rather like having your own personal car. And any privilege is the more valuable, the smaller the number of people who "have access" to it. Many people, however, are opposed to openness out of absolutely unselfish considerations, because

they are convinced that by publicizing our shortcomings we can somehow damage the country's interests. But they are wrong: We cannot deprive people of their most important democratic right recorded in the constitution because of "state considerations."

And as far as "writing about whatever we come across" is concerned.... As it transpires, not every journalist regards the opportunity to write openly and a blessing. Previously, many of them could be persuaded that the only reason they did not speak the whole truth was that "no one would let it through" anyway. Self-imposed limitations of this kind do not make anyone stronger: They gradually develop into narrow-mindedness.

Some people have become accustomed to think that the whole point of their work, their existence, and their social mission lies in their acting as a mouthpiece for their city or oblast leader. He has been elected by the people, they say, so he is the people. And his opinion and interests are the opinion and interests of the people. Fortunately, these people do not shape the face of the profession.

It is not easier to work in the new conditions--on the contrary, it is far more difficult. But the great benefit of any honest work--whether it is the work of a steel founder, a journalist, or anyone else--is more in evidence today.

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CSO: 1800/612

'DISTORTIONS' ATTRIBUTED TO NOT READING MARX, LENIN IN FULL

PM161419 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 Apr 87 p 3

[Natalya Morozova article under the rubric "We are October's Offspring": "Erudition in Small Chunks. Remarks on Political Self-Education and the Study of Primary Sources"]

[Excerpts] While Marxists in the last century had a somewhat utilitarian approach toward "Das Kapital," the period following October's victory already saw the emergence of an aesthetic element ("musical charm") and a desire to learn from Marx not just his theory but also his ability to think and the methodology of his approach toward life.

And it would seem that this trend should have developed further with the passage of time. But suddenly... the completely opposite trend started gathering pace at some stage along our path! There occurred a kind of unimaginable distortion, running contrary to normal logic: Living theory turned into dogma, ideas became phrases, and books became sources of quotations. Indexes of pages and even of lines, referring to various chunks of all political literature, were introduced once and for all times in the system of political education. These excerpts, which I would even describe as scraps, usually consist of ready-made formulations, and many people get the impression that all the indexed works consist entirely of just such formulations. So, is it worth reading the entire works? Let the scientists select what is most necessary, and we will meticulously copy it in our notebooks.

The following phenomenon was also widespread: Students preferred to turn not to primary sources but to popular brochures written about them. The most observant among them did notice that these brochures used the very same "pages" that were referred to in the index lists.

A paradoxical situation developed: While publishing books by Marx, Engels, and Lenin in large print runs, we were doing everything to ensure that these books were not read. Now we are looking for the roots of many of our misfortunes in the era of the personality cult. There is no denying that this era was complex and contradictory. But at times we oversimplify it, tracing everything back to the tragedy of 1937.

Yes, people did live through a tragedy. But at the same time, ideas experienced a drama.

A failure occurred somewhere, and the creative attitude toward theory turned into its opposite--dogmatism.

We now find it easy to judge the past: After all, we know the subsequent development of events. We know that in this way the ground was prepared for people to accept as gospel truth any statement not only by Lenin, but also by Stalin and then by subsequent leaders. But all this was to happen later. It all started with one man claiming the monopoly right to understanding Marxism-Leninism, and throwing to the masses predigested morsels in the form of quotations, in the form of chunks of pages. And those who were fed on quotations grew to become the lovers of bandying quotations.

And so, where did this knowledge based on quotations lead us? If only it could have led us just to ignorance! No, something much worse happened: There appeared what was only a semblance of knowledge. What else was to be expected--they got their top marks at examinations, produced reports, made good use of quotations in articles--that was their game.... But when it became a matter of actual work--an important dispute or a serious issue--our erudite quotation masters lost the gift of speech. And this is not surprising: Only profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism offers a defense against lies and falsification. Knowledge based on quotations fails to provide a firm ideological position. It is easy to juggle with quotations, interpret them in different ways, and make them suit any facts.

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CSO: 1830/477



## NO 'ISLAMIC FACTOR' OR 'ISLAMIC RENAISSANCE' IN USSR

Frunze KOMMUNIST KIRGIZSTANA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 pp 87-92

[Article by V. Kiyutin, Candidate of Historical Sciences: "The Bankruptcy of Bourgeois Conceptions of an 'Islamic Factor' in the USSR"]

[Text] The history of mankind knows no small number of conflicts, quarrels and wars between nations which have had their origins in nonsensical ideas of religious, racial and cultural superiority of one people over another. The antislav policy of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans, British rule in India, Jewish pogroms in the Russian Empire, the doctrine of racial "purity" in Germany, the extermination of millions of people in Europe on the pretext that they were "inferior" by the Huns of the 20th century, the German fascists, are only the most important and instructive examples reflecting the criminal ideology and practice of "might of this world" in connection with the nationality question.

We see the knot of racial, national and religious conflict now tightly drawn in many countries of the nonsocialist world. It is not unusual to see these conflicts lead to tragic situations (in the U.S., Sri Lanka and Lebanon), the division of countries (Cyprus), separatist movements (Canada, Spain, India) and racial unrest (Great Britain, the U.S., South Africa). The 1970's and 1980's have revealed with all possible clarity the inability of capitalism to deal with nationality problems, which, in turn, have inevitably become more serious. This only confirms once again the profound truth expressed by V. I. Lenin's notion that "imperialism is an age of national oppression on a new historical basis" ("Complete Works," Vol 27, p 440).

Socialism in our country has for the first time arrived at a just solution of the national question. "Drawing on the teachings of V. I. Lenin and standing on the gains of socialism, the Communist Party has accomplished an enormous work of transformation in this sphere," declares the political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress. "The results can be counted a truly significant achievement of socialism, one which has enriched the civilization of the entire world. National oppression and legal inequalities among nationalities in all forms and manifestations have been eliminated once and for all. The indestructible friendship between peoples and respect for national cultures and the national dignity of all peoples have been asserted and established in the consciousness of tens of millions of people."

The outside world, particularly the developing countries, which feel the heavy burden of ethnic, racial and religious problems, is showing intense interest in the theory

and practice of Marxism-Leninism concerning the national question and is looking increasingly to the invaluable experience of the USSR in this sphere. This is why bourgeois social science and propaganda have thrown their best people into efforts to develop pseudoscientific national theories as alternatives to Marxism, the essential component of which, transparently, is that interethnic and religious conflicts will be "inevitable" in any human society, regardless of its socioeconomic and political structure. Anticommunists insist that the Soviet Union, too, is not free of these problems: the national problem has not been solved there, they say, and its problems have "taken a dramatic turn." On the basis of these false premises, the West is now anticipating not only a hostile international response to the domestic policy of the Communist Party, but also, and most importantly, the emergence of a national and religious movement capable of "overturning Soviet power."

The ideology of imperialism used to number the Baltic nationalities, the Ukrainians and the Georgians among the "natural enemies" of the Soviet government. Imperialist propaganda and reactionary circles are now placing top priority in their plans for subverting our country from within on what is referred to as an "Islamic factor," that is, on the peoples of the areas in which Islam has traditionally been prevalent (Central Asia, Azerbaijan, the Northern Caucasus, Tatarsiya and Bashkiriya). The hullabaloo over an "Islamic factor" can be explained first and foremost with reference to now-familiar events in a number of countries in the Near and Middle East and Africa, where we have seen an intensification of the process of the politicization of Islam, where Islamic fundamentalism and radicalism have been on the rise and where certain elements are using religion as a weapon in struggles against their political enemies. The geographic proximity of these countries to the republics of the Soviet East, the similarity of their historical fortunes in the past and the presence of Muslim believers in the USSR have given rise to hopes in the West for a strengthening of the bases of Islam in the Soviet Union and hopes that it will play a destructive role. Hence the wave of publications asserting the existence of an "Islamic renaissance" and of a "Muslim threat to the USSR."

With a persistence worthy of better application, ARABIA: ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW, a periodical published in London, has raised an "Islamic problem." It is instructive to point out that the titles of one of its articles, expressed in a peremptory tone, reads: "Neither tsarism nor commissars have been able to suppress Islam" (as can be seen, the West ignores any distinction between the nationality and religious policies of tsarism and those of the Soviet government — V. K.). So the question naturally arises: has our government really tried, or is it trying, to suppress Islam? The alpha and omega of Marxist teaching concerning religion is that religious feelings, attitudes and ideology will die out over the course of an extended period of time; it is a process which is prolonged and complex, one evolving within the framework of progressive socioeconomic, political and social transformations and a program of consistent, aggressive educational and ideological work.

There is a body of legislation in the Soviet Union which deals with religious questions, regulates religious activity, the operation of religious institutions and so on. To be a believer or an atheist, to practice or abstain from religious ceremonies, these are constitutional rights of citizens guaranteed by the state. The Soviet government and Communist Party have always demonstrated tact and patience when it comes to the religious sensitivities and beliefs of believers. This has allowed Islam to preserve itself as a private affair of individual citizens of the USSR.

Mosques, Islamic religious schools and four spiritual directorates (Tashkent, Ufa, Baku and Buynaksk) function in our country. Following the adoption of the USSR constitution in 1977, for example, 69 new mosques were opened. There is regular publication of religious literature, to include the Koran, collections of hadith and religious calendars. Soviet Muslims maintain extensive contacts with foreign co-religionists. So, to put it in a nutshell, there can be no talk of any such thing as a persecution of Islam in the USSR. Nor, on the other hand, is there any basis for speaking of an "Islamic renaissance."

Our adversaries argue in an openly anti-Soviet vein in favor of the unshakeability of "Islamic basis" of the life of the peoples of Central Asia and a number of other parts of the country. A popular Western specialist on the USSR, A. Bennigsen, rejects entirely any international consciousness on the part of the peoples of the Soviet East. The judgements put forward by the American scholar M. Rywkin on this score are more diplomatic. In a monograph published jointly in London, Boston and Sidney in 1984, "SSSR i islamskiy mir. Voprosy vnutrenney i vneshney politiki" [The USSR and the Islamic World. Problems in Domestic and Foreign Policy], he "corrects" Bennigsen in that he recognizes an international level of consciousness. The whole point, however, boils down to the fact that Rywkin sees the national and the international in fierce competition with one another, with the national ("nationalism," as it is referred to by the sovietologists—V.K.) usually gaining the upper hand.

An ancient fiction of bourgeois propaganda! Ever since the middle of the 19th century, when for the first time in history K. Marx and F. Engels elaborated a truly progressive ideology for the working class, an ideology in its nature international, and armed the proletariat with a true, accurate understanding of the relationship between the nation and class, the defenders of capitalist society, the criers for the ancient principle of "divide and rule," have unceasingly broken lances over these critical questions. How many angry philippics have been delivered against the Marxist teachings concerning class and the class solidarity of the proletariat and the international interests of the working people of different nations and nationalities. And how many times have the lackeys of capital rushed forth to declare the bankruptcy of the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

At the international level, internationalism represents the most fundamental norm governing relations between communist and workers parties and constitutes an indispensable component of the success of peoples in their struggles for peace, work, socialism and democracy. The internationalist tradition of the working people of different countries has left its indelible mark on the recent history of mankind in the form of the universal "Hands Off Soviet Russia" campaign in Great Britain, the assistance the International Brigades rendered republican Spain, the liberating mission of the Soviet Army during the Second World War, the defense of the gains of the April revolution in Afghanistan etc.

In our country, socialist internationalism, developing within the framework of historically unprecedented socioeconomic and cultural transformations resulting from the collaboration and mutual assistance rendered among the peoples of the USSR, has now entered into the flesh and blood of the Soviet people and emerged as the factor dominating their view of the world, their psychology, their conduct. The fact should not be concealed, however, that in the sphere of relations between nationalities certain problems and difficulties remain. Greater attention must be given to the international



and patriotic education of our youth. Furthermore, our standards of internationality intercourse are still not what they should be. Some of our citizens still suffer relapses into old, nationalist attitudes and patterns of thinking. Finally, the principle of socialist internationalism is not always applied with the proper consistency in personnel policy decisions taken in the various national regions of the USSR.

The last-named problem is of particular importance. We would have thought that there could be no more misunderstanding on this score. "In the meantime," Ye. K. Ligachev, secretary of the the CPSU Central Committee, declared at the 27th Party Congress, "we are still seeing instances in which parochial national interests and attitudes have gained the upper hand. This has been responsible for obstacles placed in the way of advancement to positions of leadership by representatives of all nationalities, of interregional exchanges of cadres and exchanges of experienced personnel between the republics and the center and between regions and cities throughout the country. This has led in a number of instances to self-isolation, stagnation and other negative phenomena."

There can be no two ways of looking at this situation, of course: situations like these act as brakes on the development of Soviet society. The CPSU Central Committee and the republic party committees are therefore taking measures necessary to rectify this state of affairs. Uzbekistan, for example, has now received a great deal of assistance: highly qualified, experienced cadres have been dispatched there from both the center and the fraternal republics. Highly promising from the point of view of strengthening the principles of socialist internationalism and fraternal friendship among peoples and of overcoming manifestations of national exclusivism and narrow-mindedness would appear to be a continuous program of interrepublic and interregional exchanges of cadres and experts.

Bourgeois propagandists will of course attempt to use isolated instances of national exclusivity and excessive devotion to parochial interests as confirmation of their theoretical constructs. But this can't be helped, of course—such is the ineradicable passion for giving out the wish for the reality. For the sake of justice, however, let us point out that one can also hear some fairly sober judgements on Soviet affairs expressed in the West. A. Jorgensen, a scholar at the Center for International Studies in Esbjerg (Denmark), for example, does not share the views of A. Bennigsen and M. Rywkin on the "Muslim question." And there would be others. Praising the advances achieved by the Central Asian republics in the economic and cultural spheres, Professor Albert Shimanski of the University of Oregon (U.S.) in his book "Prava cheloveka v SSSR" [Human Rights in the USSR] (London, 1984), also sweeps aside any notion of an "Islamic factor." The retribution was immediate: the English journal ASIAN AFFAIRS ran a review of the book which branded it "opinionated and unobjective." So what we have here is this anti-Soviet publication's biased conception of objectivity.

On the other hand, this really shouldn't surprise us all that much. F. Engels wrote the following: "...The bourgeoisie turns everything into a commodity, and, therefore, ultimately even history itself. By virtue of its very nature, by virtue of the conditions of its existence, it will characteristically adulterate everything it gets its hands on: and it has even falsified history. For the fact is that it is the work which falsifies history most in conformity with the interests of the bourgeoisie which pays the best" (Arkhir K. Marks a F. Engelsa [The Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Archive], Vol 10, p 104). It would be naive to believe that the 20th century



is going to make the bourgeoisie any more fastidious in politics and the social sciences. Attempts on the part of anticommunists to draw a "demarcation line" between the Soviet peoples at the level of the domestic family level, for example, speak for themselves. To counterpose the family to the socialist state cannot be taken seriously, however. The family is a model of social relations which absorbs characteristic features of the society as a whole. The individual members of the family develop as individual personalities in the schools and work collectives with their characteristic atmosphere of sharing and mutual support and assistance, of comradeship. By virtue of this fact alone it would be absurd to separate the development of the Central Asian family by a "blind fence" from the mainstream of Soviet social development and attempt to "bespatter" the way of life of the Central Asian peoples with anti-Soviet mud.

Demographic statistics, too, refute the ideas of the sovietologists. While nationalist and religious prejudices placed obstacles in the way of the establishment of Kazakh-Russian families before the Revolution, by the beginning of the 1970's some 25 per cent of the urban and rural families there were international families. Mixed marriages now constitute some 15 per cent of all marriages in Kirgiziya. The establishment of international families is demonstrating that ancient traditions of preference for endogamous marriages among the native peoples of Central Asia and other regions in which Islam is the predominate religion have now to a great extent been undermined. This illustrates the enormous "shift" in the Soviet way of life and the firm establishment of truly internationalist features in the daily lives of the Soviet nations and nationalities.

Western propaganda blows up all manner of ideological speculation concerning the fact that the republics of the Soviet East have the highest birth rate in the country. It is asserted that a demographic explosion of this kind must inevitably lead to a "greater political role for the Muslims and weaken the position of the Russians." Therefore, it is claimed, the government and the Russian element in the population are "seriously concerned about the future."

The fact is, of course, that this demographic situation is a harbinger of absolutely no problems of a political nature whatsoever. Anyone anticipating any bitter struggle between "Slavic" and "Muslim" blocs in the USSR is doomed to disappointment. The notion of "countermeasures" to be undertaken by the Soviet government against a "Muslim threat," of course, is a product of the sick imagination of the sovietologists.

The ideologues of the West continue to vigorously pursue their "studies" of the economic life of the Soviet East. Under the pressure of irrefutable facts, anticommunists have been forced to shake out their conceptual baggage, to relocate their emphases. The high level of economic development of the national republics, for example, is now a generally recognized fact and no longer occasions any doubts. But because of their narrow class orientation (objectively established by the interests of the bourgeoisie), sovietologists have been unable to abandon entirely their efforts somehow to discredit the very notion of this economic progress. What are we to make, for example, of the "original" notion put forward by our ideological adversaries concerning the "opportunist" considerations governing the actions of the Soviet government in the area of economic policy in the national regions. In raising the backward former borderlands of tsarist Russia to the level of development of the central part of the country, they say, the Soviets' primary objective was "to offer a model of progress to the working people in other oriental countries."

And the fact is that the tenth and twelfth congresses of the party saw the enunciation of a far-reaching program aimed at establishing real equality among the national regions of the country. To these areas flowed financial support, material resources, industrial and other production equipment and highly skilled personnel—workers, technicians, engineers, scientists, manpower Soviet Russia needed so badly herself. The fact is that on their own, without her help, help from the fraternal union of Soviet peoples, the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan would hardly have been able to launch out onto the high road of social and cultural progress and reach the destination of socialism.

This assistance rendered Central Asia and Kazakhstan, of course, was not rendered to achieve any propagandistic objectives, but rather out of a desire to give previously oppressed and backward peoples a dignified life. It is this, for example, in which we see the true reflection of the party's economic policy priorities. The Central Asian republics are today enjoying assistance and support from other republics of the country, but we are now also seeing efforts aimed at increasing the contribution this vast region makes to our overall national potential.

The successes we have seen in Central Asia in developing the economy and improving the material and spiritual welfare of the people there are attracting close attention abroad and exercising a revolutionizing effect on the working masses. This is the real reason the anticommunists are so uneasy, the real motivation behind the desire to close to the developing countries the door to a socialist future.

In the Western propaganda literature we can also find views with a different thrust: these have it that there have been "missed opportunities" for the peoples of the East in the areas of economics and culture. It is, of course true, the proponents of these views admit, that Central Asia has indisputable achievements to its credit in these areas. But outside the framework of the USSR it would have achieved much more, and the republics would be sovereign, independent states with a powerful industry and agriculture.

Let us turn our attention to one particular historical document. A commentary of January 1918 on the "14 Points" of American President W. Wilson concerning the future of Central Asia contains the following statement: "It is entirely possible that it will be necessary to offer some power a limited mandate to establish a protectorate-based administration." There can be no doubting that in practice a "limited mandate" would have meant carte blanche to plunder Central Asia, exploit its natural resources and its people and turn it into a colony of imperialism. Dramatic illustration of precisely this type of "development" is provided by the recent history of dozens of countries around the world which fell under the iron heel of imperialism.

It was only as parts of the USSR that the republics of Central Asia have had the opportunity to improve their status. Today we see them making agricultural machinery, aircraft, research instruments, electronics components, NC machines and motor vehicles and generating electricity and producing nonferrous metals. The list would be endless!

The years of Soviet government have seen similarly dramatic growth in the cultural field as well. The realia? Modern literary languages, motion pictures, ballet, opera, symphonic music. An extended system of institutions of higher education is

training experts in a great many fields of modern manufacturing, science, technology, medicine and education. The number of students per 10,000 inhabitants in the Central Asian republics is 1.5-2 times higher than in England, the FRG and Italy and 3-4 times higher than in Iran, Turkey and Pakistan.

Moreover, the claims the sovietologists are making concerning the "russification" of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, the cultural backwardness of these peoples and the loss of national cultural traditions—against the background of the figures referred to above, these claims ring hollow as well. How, for example, would the picture our adversaries are painting accommodate the extensive spread of progressive national customs in Kirgiziya, the great popularity of the horse-riding competitions, the national sports and games competitions, the presentations by the national storytellers etc.?

And is there is really any basis for statements by anticommunists that dissatisfaction among the Turkic peoples of the USSR is being generated by "inequality" in the status of their national-governmental units within the structure of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the "formalistic nature" of state organizations.

It would suffice to consult the relevant party documents and government papers to demonstrate the falseness of these assertions. Maintaining the fundamental line laid down in the preceding Basic Law, the USSR Constitution of 1977, for example, established the full equality of all nations and nationalities and union republics in all spheres of socialist activity—political, socioeconomic, cultural etc. V. I. Lenin always placed great emphasis upon the fact that it would be impermissible to infringe in any way upon the legal equality of the various republics and peoples. This behest has been consistently observed over the course of our national-state development and today constitutes the foundation of foundations of our state.

The informal nature of the national governmental structure of the peoples of the USSR can be seen in the broad powers and authority of both the legislative and executive bodies of the republics, from the adoption of constitutions and the resolution of questions concerning territorial administration to participation in the management of enterprises under union jurisdiction on republic territory. We are pursuing consistently a policy aimed at broadening the rights of the individual republics; this process, of course, is linked dialectically to reinforcement of the unionwide foundations of our state.

Just resolution of the nationality question and the creation of a strong union of peoples enjoying legal equality on the basis of Leninist principles have given the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics its unshakeable inner strength, which will survive all the vicissitudes of history. There is no force capable of breaking the bonds of friendship among the Soviet peoples. This would be beyond the strength of those in the West who are placing their bets on the "Islamic factor."

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## RYBAKOV DISCUSSES HIS VIEWS OF STALIN

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[Article by Herman Orlovsky]

[Text]

EXPLAINING his writing technique, Anatoly Rybakov notices: "If you have steel nerves, you can advance without looking back to gain new territories. You may come back later and finish the writing, and meanwhile your heroes have been living their own lives."

Apparently Rybakov, having written the novel *The Children of Arbat*, which is akin to walking over a mine-field, has pretty strong nerves. The time of action is 1934. In that year Kirov was murdered, and the repressions began. The characters are common people as well as people from the upper echelons of power - Stalin and his entourage.

Anatoly Rybakov is 76. *The Children of Arbat* is a novel about his youth as seen through the thick of time that has absorbed many a tragic twist and turn of our history. He is famous as the author of books for children and teenagers (*A Dirk*, *A Bronze Bird*, *The Adventures of Krosh*), novels *Ekaterina Voronina*, *The Drivers* and *Summer in Sosnyaki*. His masterpiece *A Heavy Sand*, describing a Jewish ghetto in a nazi-occupied Ukrainian town, has been published in 25 countries.

The struggle over the fate of *The Children of Arbat* stretched over twenty years. *Novy Mir* (New World), a literary magazine, promised its readers that it would publish the novel in 1967; another thick magazine, *Oktyabr* (October), did the same in 1979. Last autumn the forthcoming publication of the novel was advertised on the cover of *Druzhba Narodov*. And here he is, holding the page proofs of the April issue in one hand and stroking it gingerly with the other.

In his study, the bookshelves are packed with heavy manuscript folders, binding the numerous versions of the novel together.

Intercepting my querying glance, the writer grins: "No, I didn't rewrite the novel to swim with the currents. That's just routine literary toil - working out the plot and the characters. I've been 'revisiting' the novel for all these twenty years. I gave no thought to its publishing fate. For me, it was important to write it. As Alexander Tvardovsky used to say, 'goods must first be stored at a depot before they can be later forwarded to shops'."

It seems to me that should your heroes find themselves in the Arbat of today, they would fail to recognize the home of their childhood in this varnished showcase of a street. So is our view of the pre- and postwar history of the country - it is unfortunately very much like contemplating, with due respect, a show window of exhibits labelled "Not To Be Touched".

In this sense, your novel is a step towards comprehending our past and one of its most controversial periods in particular - the 1930s. What caused you to turn to those times?

Tremendous is our interest in history which is a flesh-and-blood example and experience. Here a word of life is baneful particularly to the younger generation which is to carry our history on. I don't feel responsible for history as science, but the civic duty of a writer I see in helping people dig out the truth, however unseemly it may be.

Though often bitter, the medicine has to be administered to stop the disease from pervading the body. History, too, is not all glory: there are times to feel proud about and years to be ashamed of. But it is imperative to remember these years to avoid a recurrence of the past. And for me it is of crucial importance that people be brought up on truth.

Today, I look back at the years covered by *The Children of Arbat* as a key to understanding a lot of facets of modern life. That was time of grand achievements, but also of great tragedies; of lofty enthusiasm and appalling drama. The stagnation of the 70s and early 80s didn't come as a bolt out of the blue. It was a follow-up to the psychological predicament moulded in the 30s when people were turned off independent thinking - one man was thinking for all - their initiative nipped and dignity trampled. We were stripped of everything that makes spiritual, social and economic progress possible, everything we are engaged in an uphill struggle to resurrect.

Alexander Tvardovsky who greatly appreciated your novel called it the main book of your life. Would you agree with this?

Well. An author's main book is the one he is writing at the moment. I'm pursuing the story of the novel to the 1944 offensive at the Vistula in which I took part with the 8th Guard's Army commanded by General Chuikov.

I often hear that war veterans feel that the deed of their life is already behind them. I don't think an analogy with your book would



be a strained one here. You've accomplished the main thing: you have dotted your I and riveted our attention on the whirl of history around its key personage whose will was the way things moved no matter how many eggs had to be broken.

You are using allegories, whereas you may have noticed that the novel is written in a very straightforward manner, without charades and riddles. I like to keep my writing simple. It is the most difficult part of the job, but this way a reader left alone with your book doesn't have to decipher the symbols. I don't mince my words and now their hour has come.

All right, let's talk about the main figure. I believe the pages devoted to Stalin are the most artistically convincing, they are the cream of the novel. But are you sure that your portrait of Stalin, devoid of glory and romance, will not run into a heavy flak? Let's face it: his personality still bears a kind of a halo and commands a pious adoration of many people.

Of course, it will start a controversy. The reactions will be necessarily diametrical. In numerous minds his name is tied up with the victory over fascism, with a time that left scars on hearts. In times of historic upheavals the name of a leader is ingraved in human memory shrouded in legends and myths. As for the young car drivers, who display his portrait inside their windshields, I'm sure they know nothing about him. They simply wish to seem defiant.

Stalin was a controversial figure that fully reflected all the controversies of his time. We have to analyze his phenomenon without emotional outbursts, curses and hysteria.

I believe that he appears in my novel in a fairly objective way unbiased by personal antipathy as a prominent statesman he obviously was with some positive and some extremely negative features.

What were his positive features in your opinion?

Energy, firmness of purpose, ability to channel the entire nation's potential into achieving the desired goals. In the 30s Stalin did a lot for the development of our industry.

But at what price! "A great goal demands a great energy," reasons Stalin in your novel. "And the great energy of a backward nation comes only through great cruelty." Thus "you must break eggs to make an omelet" ceases to be an allegory.

Along with driving the people to great sacrifices in the name of allegedly noble causes, Stalin showed a propensity towards merciless calculation and perfidity.

Did I try to create an angel incarnate? I have shown him the way he appears to me through facts speeches, documents, but first and foremost I followed the logic of his character and the way it developed. If this was how he acted and behaved, it must have been how he thought.

Are you convinced that your Stalin is what the man really was?

Don't write my reply off to lack of modesty, but do we know what Richard III, Boris Godunov, Kutuzov or Napoleon were like? We know them as they were created by Shakespeare, Pushkin and Leo Tolstoy. A writer uses his imagination to digest facts and reconstruct the logic of a personality. I don't claim to possess the complete truth. I considered it my duty to tell about Stalin as I see him.

In the novel, Stalin is relentlessly involved in an imaginary dispute with Lenin. Is he insecure in his conceit and striving to prove that he is a genius?

Now and then I hear something like this: whom are you writing about? Who was this Stalin anyway but a so-and-so? I'm convinced that he was a state man, deliberate in his political behaviour and consciously justifying it. He believed that he was constructing a socialist state. Only his idea of socialism was different from that of Lenin. Hence his urge to ascribe to Lenin thoughts the latter never had.

In a recent issue of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* I came across an argument by the writer Mikhail Alexeyev to the effect that we should not forget that Stalin had ruled the country for 30 years. What a strange yardstick for a leader! And what are we to make of Lenin's modest six years at the head of the government? What is Mikhail Alexeyev's conclusion? "Stalin was the Commander-in-Chief during the four years of the Great Patriotic War," goes on Alexeyev. Indeed, he was. And during the Civil War, he was not. Nevertheless, the war was won and the armies of intervention were pushed back. Nor does Alexeyev remember the commanders who fought victoriously in the Civil War only to be liquidated by Stalin in its aftermath.

Naturally, recollecting how many lives cut short 50 years ago and some time later is sad and unfortunate. And when mass repressions are mentioned, they are explained away as "mistakes" or "deficiencies" in the socialist legality on a par with deficiencies in consumer services, or even as the "necessary expenses" of the class struggle. Sacred must be the memory of these martyrs of the lawless and arbitrary rule. The truth about them must become part of our heritage.

Yes, indeed. Any talk about the spiritual development of a young person will remain just that talk, as long as prying into the history of the nation one will come head on closed cupboard doors concealing old skeletons.

Morality feeds on truth only. Brought up on truth, one will seek it and learn to think. Brought up on lies, one manipulates with rigid concepts and doesn't give a damn about the authenticity of what one is being fed. Modern youth whom we never tire of accusing of being a spiritual vacuum and other sins should know the historic truth about those who were young half a century ago. My *The Children of Arbat* are the children of the Revolution who bore its traits. They were good friends, selfless and modest. They could make mistakes and fall into extremes, but always served their cause and people without seeking personal advantages. That was the generation which won the war.

With the name of Stalin?

I went through the war and took Berlin and I know what I'm talking about: the war was won by the

people. It was won by millions of our boys lying, in the poet's words, buried in the globe. May their memory be eternal. The victory came to men, women and children who suffered cold and hunger but did everything they could for the front. Do not let us denigrate our people by crediting the victory to one man.

I'm deeply convinced that we won't be able to advance as a society until we overcome all the consequences of the cult of personality and learn to think independently. The country badly needs a new psychological situation.

The situation is changing, isn't it?

Yes, the current reconstruction as I see it boils down to creating a moral atmosphere that would release the powers of our souls for free action and independent decision making. The part played here by the arts and literature is hard to overestimate.

I'm fully aware of the protracted and thorny nature of the psychological rejuvenation of society. The resistance to it is great and so is our inertia. But the process has got underway and I'm sure that it won't grind to a halt, for it alone meets the interests of the nation.

Perhaps the publication of your novel is also a sign of the times, a sign that the public's consciousness is ready to absorb a past without cosmetics and to draw lessons from it.

I hope so, I'm full of optimism. I can never forget my conversation with Tvardovsky in the summer of 1968. "It's a great pity," he told me, "that I can promise you nothing (we were discussing the publication of *The Children of Arbat*). The magazine is in a very difficult situation." Then he added: "When we are both 102 years old, we'll remember our anxiety over your novel and realize that all our worries were in vain."

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## POLITICAL INTERPRETATION OF BULGAKOV'S PLAY QUESTIONED

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 16, 19 Apr 87 p 6

[Interview with Anatoly Rybakov by Olga Martynenko]

[Text]

LEFTIST critics are known to have sharply attacked Mikhail Bulgakov's play, "Days of the Turbins". They accused the writer of a "spirit of conciliation" with regard to the class enemy, and as an apologizer of the Whites' cause.

How was "Days of the Turbins" received "on the other side" in the White emigration camp? The play was produced in many emigration centres, e.g., in Berlin, Paris, Kharbin, Prague, etc. According to the "Rul", the emigre newspaper published in Berlin, "the martyrs, the living splinters of the shattered Russia... poignantly relived their past disappointments".

The dramatist must have known this. Yet he would have been utterly surprised to learn that his "Days of the Turbins" had played an openly political role in the history of the White emigration. We learned about it 60 years later from recently discovered archive documents.

At the beginning of October, 1928, General A. Lamne, the representative of the White Guards' Russian Union (ROVS) in Berlin, sent a confidential letter to his boss, General Kutepov, in Paris to report secret meetings he had had with the former Hetman Skoropadsky of the Ukraine (the German puppet of 1918). The latter offered his support to ROVS "in case action will be needed". In this connection, Lamne sought Kutepov's instructions because as long as ROVS stood for a "united and indivisible Russia" it rejected the "Ukrainian independence" thesis propounded by Skoropadsky's following. In his reply of October 10, Kutepov recommended

Lamne to maintain relations with Skoropadsky and expressed readiness to meet him personally.

As the political deal between the "have-beens" was brewing, "Days of the Turbins" suddenly came into the picture. The play was given on Saturday, October 27, at the New Theater in Berlin, to benefit the Committee of the needy emigre students. Three days later, Lamne received an angry letter from Skoropadsky. The "Hetman" demanded to be informed what the play had to say about him, and "in what expressions".

On November 2, Lamne received another letter, in which Skoropadsky made no effort to conceal his anger. "The idea of the play is quite clear to me," he wrote. "It purports to show the hopelessness of the White movement on the one hand, and to ridicule and throw mud at the 1918 Hetmanship and myself personally."

Well, the emigre Hetman put the idea of Bulgakov's play in a nutshell! Furthermore, Skoropadsky drew practical conclusions: since Lamne, as the official representative of the military emigre organizations in Berlin, attended the performance, and had been instrumental in the production, Skoropadsky declared all relations to be over between them.

Lamne's reply, several handwritten pages, has also survived in the archives. Its tone being exceedingly sharp, the author did not dare send it and confined himself to posting a short summary, in which he reproached Skoropadsky with his "Ukrainian independence" stance,

which had allegedly prevented the spread of the "White idea" even in 1918, and now in 1928 threatened the much needed unity of all anti-Soviet forces.

In his diary, Lamne lamented the chronic discord and conflicts in the emigre circles. Earlier, ROVS had quarrelled with General Ber-mont-Avilov (one of the White Guards' leaders in the Baltic area) who had accused ROVS representatives of spying for France. Similarly, General Denikin had refused to cooperate in the publication of "The White Cause" launched by his "enemy" Vrangeli. Then came the conflict with Skoropadsky...

On November 16, 1928, Lamne sent another confidential report to Kutepov, writing that the situation "has introduced changes into the

affair with Skoropadsky". Lamne attached copies of his correspondence with Skoropadsky about "Days of the Turbins" and asked for further instructions. A week later, Kutepov replied that he had no great regret about "this line being broken".

These were days long past... Only the archives and modest tombstones in the cemeteries of Prague, Belgrade, and Paris now remind us of them.

Bulgakov's "Days of the Turbins" was a truthful story of the severe times of Civil War. The episode from real history revealed by the archives is yet another confirmation of the fact that the true arts always serve true causes.

/9317

CSO: 1812/182



## REORGANIZATION OF FILM INDUSTRY MOVING SLOWLY

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 19-26 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Natalya Davydova]

[Text]

The plenary meeting of the USSR Film Makers Union, which took place this past January, has approved in principle a new model for film production. The transition period of the reform is expected to be four or five years. Yet the reconstruction of the film industry is taking place slowly. Alexander KAMSHALOV, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography, told journalists:

Our film industry has found itself in straits. In 1986 our revenues were 39 mln roubles less than budgeted. That was the result of a stagnation period and the abundance of mediocre home-made films.

In addition, serious mistakes were made when showing foreign films. The phenomenon was examined, but here again, we went to another extreme: 25,000 reels of film - including films of the highest quality - were destroyed. We managed to stop the process only this year.

Camera crews stand idle because film is in short supply. The film "Repentance" (21 copies were made) has been on in Moscow for a month and a half and has been

seen by 2,600,000 people - a record number of spectators. But 463 copies, in terms of the whole country, have been made only since March. Many people as yet cannot see the documentary "Is It Easy To Be Young?" also for lack of film. One of the reasons is the severe winter which put the heating plants of the Shostka and Tasma (Kazan) film-manufacturing factories out of action. Another is the introduction of the state quality control at the factories. If in the past we received at least low-quality film, at present - none whatever.

We are sometimes reproached for having taken a great interest in structures, mechanisms and levers and thus have stopped making films. Yet, out of 130 pictures to be released this year, 60 are being made by secretaries and board members of our Union, who were elected by the 5th Congress, that is to say, the most talented, in our opinion, people.

Now about the 40th, jubilee, Film Festival in Cannes. The same old story - several of our directors will present there not only Soviet, but also foreign films. "Repentance" will compete with Nikita

Mikhalkov's film "Those Dark Eyes" and Andrei Konchalovsky's latest work.

A few words about the 15th Moscow Film Festival. Besides the contest entries, hors de concours films will be also presented. Ales Adamovich will chair the judges' panel for documentary films, and cinematographers from abroad - for feature and children's films. Francis Coppola and Sidney Pollack refused to head the jury, and the invitation was sent to Robert De Niro. It is still not clear what Soviet picture will be nominated as an entry. A retrospect show of Andrei Tarkovsky's films will be organized during the festival, including "Nostalgia" and "Sacrifice". If we purchase the latter.

Our leading directors will take part in joint productions. Gleb Pantilov will make a film, "Prohibited People" (based on the novel Mother), jointly with the Nello Santi firm. The same director will produce "Hamlet" together with the Schiller company. Sergio Leone and Arnolds Vitols will film a feature about the siege of Leningrad. Nikita Mikhalkov will shoot yet another film in Italy, which is most likely to be "Anna Karenina".

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CSO: 1812/182

## PAPER DEFENDS OBITUARY ON TARKOVSKIY: REPRINTS INTERVIEW

PM1509044 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 April 1987 carries on page 8 under the heading "Beauty--Symbol of Truth..." a "slightly abridged reprint" of movie director Andrey Tarkovskiy's last interview, given to the Paris weekly FIGARO MAGAZINE in October 1986. The un-attributed introduction reads as follows:

"The readers' mail received by the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Arts Department is very varied, as a rule. Television, restructuring in the theater, the problems of movie distribution, passionate letters from lovers of rock music and equally passionate letters from its opponents, questions addressed to leading movie directors, actors, playwrights.... In recent months the name of Andrey Tarkovskiy has often cropped up in the mail. True, the large bundle of letters includes several from people protesting against the name of this movie director being mentioned in our press. 'What did LITERATURNAYA GAZETA mean by publishing an obituary on Tarkovskiy's death?' our reaker labor veteran B. Semenov asks, for instance. But the majority of the letters received supply the answer to this question. N. Prokofyev from the village of Kletino in Ryazan Pblast, teacher M. Aleksandrov from Leningrad, S. Rusin from Makeyevka, concrete worker I. Gusev from Chita Oblast, L. Kogan from Leningrad, V. Anyalaskaus from Kaunas, and others write of the role played by Andrey Arsenyevich Tarkovskiy's work in the life of our movie industry. 'His movies were always a warning against falsehood, lack of concern, and spiritual aridity. Perhaps, like all true artists, he was ahead of his time,' music specialist Ye. Filippovich writes from Murmansk. Many letters ask specific questions. 'May we hope that the Soviet viewer will eventually see the last pictures of A. Tarkovskiy, whose death is an irreparable loss?' Muscovite I. Shchedrovitskaya asks. 'In the atmosphere of openness which is becoming the norm for our press, silence appears odd. I am a regular reader of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, but I cannot remember reading anything in your newspaper about A. Tarkovskiy's work abroad. Will you tell us about it?' A. Osinovskiy, an engineer from Minsk, asks.

"We can give a clear answer to all these questions today. The name of Andrey Tarkovskiy belongs to Soviet art. During the 15th Moscow International Movie Festival, there will be a retrospective showing in Moscow of Andrey Tarkovskiy's movies (this was announced at a press conference at the USSR State Committee for Cinematography). Talks are in progress on showing in our country 'Nostalgia' and 'The Sacrifice,' which A. Tarkovskiy made abroad."

There follows a 1,600-word version of the FIGARO MAGAZINE interview, in which Tarkovskiy mainly discusses his early work and his theories on art, beauty, and cinema, and the artist's role as contemplative and spiritual figure. In reply to the last question, about artistic freedom, Tarkovskiy argues that freedom is a state of mind: "For instance, it is possible to be completely 'free' socially and politically, but still to perish through a sense of transience, a sense of confinement, a sense of absence of freedom, absence of choice, absence of future." Art, he argues, cannot exist without creative freedom; but at the same time a work of art must not be merely the mouthpiece of the individual ego, which, he says, is the "dominant trend in the 20th century."

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CSO: 1800/607

## ARMENIAN POET ON DECLINING USE OF NATIONAL LANGUAGE

PM081145 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 87 Second Edition pp 3, 6

[Article by Silva Kaputikyan under the "Our Moral Values" rubric: "The Motherland Great and Small"]

[Text] Yerevan--It was in 1946. As a poetess then in my youth I arrived in Kazakhstan to take part in the celebration of the birth centenary of Dzhambul which, of course, was not simply a literary jubilee but also a great nationwide celebration. The exuberant parade, dancing, and equestrian competitions were accompanied by the shrill, joyous cries of supporters. And then guests and hosts took their places round cloths set out on the ground and were served beshbarmak and koumiss.

At the head of this table on the ground, their legs tucked under them, sat our elders: Vsevolod Ivanov and Mukhtar Auezov. While we novice guests used all five fingers (beshbarmak means "five fingers") as we clumsily coped with the greasy pieces of mutton, Vsevolod Vyacheslavovich dealt very skillfully with this Kazakh delicacy, relishing it, and at the end drained his earthenware cup of foaming white koumiss to approving sounds from the assembly, especially Mukhtar Auezov.

Vsevolod Ivanov and Mukhtar Auezov were long-standing friends. The renowned Russian writer had been born and raised in Kazakhstan, knew its language, history, literature, and customs. He knew and respected them. He frequently wrote about Kazakhstan and about Auezov's fine novel "Abay" and was one of the authors of the movie "Amangeldy," about the Kazakh people's hero. This friendship was strong not through mutual praise and boasts but through mutual respect and spiritual kinship. That was what you felt that day in their closeness, which communicated itself to us too and united us. Inspired by the atmosphere of selfless fraternal friendship, I wrote a poem which began thus:

For from the northern blizzards to the snowless south,  
We are from a single family whose strength is in love,  
But could we understand each other, brothers,  
Were it not for the Russian language!

Throughout the millenia the world has been made up of a mosaic of great and small peoples. Over the decades relations of victor and vanquished, of oppressor and oppressed, or at best of savior and saved, have been asserted between nations and races. All this has generated in people's souls national egotism, arrogance, and a pernicious feeling of racial superiority on the one hand, and on the other slavery, fear, and the suppressed malice of the oppressed.

Only with the victory of the socialist revolution did mutual relations between races and tribes undergo a fundamental change. In seven decades of Soviet life a unique community without historical analogy has been created which, while monolithic and united in its aims, retains the face and uniqueness of each nation and promotes its development and flowing. This is one of the most important of our spiritual acquisitions and a lofty new expression of our humanism and true internationalism.

Nonetheless, how did it happen that in the same Alma-Ata with which I began my article there occurred the grave events in which the social and the national, the profound and the superficial were mingled?

The CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum said that in recent decades "the negative phenomena and deformations which we have struggled against have also appeared in the sphere of national relations."

The upheavals in the economy, sometimes the flouting of our moral norms and principles for the sake of personal gain, data padding, careerism, hypocrisy, flattery, and discrepancy between word and deed created the soil for the emergence of national arrogance and egotism. On the other hand they generated pseudointernationalism, the denial of everything national, and scorn for one's own culture and language.

The same plenum noted that inter-nation relations are "very complex and essentially contradictory" processes and that instead of an in-depth analysis "some of our social scientists for a long time preferred to create treatises of a 'salutatory' nature sometimes more reminiscent of flowery toasts than serious scientific studies."

The socioeconomic and spiritual progress of the Soviet people and of our great and small nations, the rise of the national intelligentsia and cadres dictate our new approach toward the nations' mutual relations and their history, language, and traditions. We cannot view a people who have given world literature Chingiz Aytmatov with the same eyes as people once looked on the Kirghiz peasant enthusiastically savoring the rudiments of literacy in the campaign against illiteracy. Whereas in the 1930's a villager who had only just opened his eyes to the world would listen with fascination to the almost accentless Russian speech of his student son, today the son of that student, feeling that he has almost no knowledge of his native language, that he is somehow alienated from his roots and history, is somehow distressed and puts up an inner fight without yet being clearly aware of where he is from or what he is against. All this must be understood and taken into account.



When you read V.I. Lenin's letters about the nationalism of small nations, about equal rights, sovereignty, national language and originality, you are struck by his wise foresight. In speaking of the revolutionary actions expected in Asia and the East in general, Lenin warned that it would be unforgivable opportunism if on the eve of this action by the East and at its start we were to undermine our authority within the East by the slightest discourtesy or injustice toward our own national minorities.

Many peoples of Asia and Africa, inspired by the example of the world's first socialist state, have struggled and won, gaining independence and broad opportunities for developing their national culture. And, of course, all this is done with our support. Recalling the words of Lenin I have just cited, I think particularly pointedly of how important it is to us in our daily practice to implement them, how important it is to harmonize our proclamations and our actions in our own house.

Of course, the centralization of the management of industry in the republic via Gosplan and the union ministries is absolutely understandable and necessary, dictated as it is by the level of development of the socialist economy and the creation of a single national economic complex. But the creation of, for instance, a union ministry of education, the centralization of this sphere, the very strict, sometimes petty control over republican ministries which previously had the right to autonomous activity, is, in my view, unjustified.

For instance, why, proceeding from local conditions, can the Armenian Ministry of Education not set aside not 2 academic years, as the union center compels it to do, but 3 years for the study of Armenian literature in schools? The need is there: Armenian literature, with its 2,000-year history, cannot be fitted into the standard framework adopted for younger literatures.

In the union republics' schools few hours are devoted to the history of their peoples. In our republic, for instance, 102 hours were allocated for that purpose in the 1950's, yet now the figure is only 50 hours. As a result the school graduate has a detailed knowledge (and it is a good thing that he has this knowledge) of Chartism, the French Revolution with its right and left wings and Girondins and Jacobins, but has only a slight acquaintance with the history of his own people, and does not know by what very difficult paths, at the price of blood and self-sacrifice, his people preserved their existence and cultural values.

Yet true patriotism, inspired by a people's history and culture, is a reliable shield protecting young people from alien outside influences which demoralize their thoughts and hearts. I am sure that the bearded Russian youth who volunteered to go to the Pskov region to restore monuments of ancient Russian art, the Belorussian with his light blue eyes standing silently at the ruins of Khatyn, the young Latvian enthusiastically singing folk songs, the young Georgian who is a fierce champion of his cinema which has its roots in the people's life, or the young Armenian student who every year on 24 April slowly climbs the Tsitsernakabard hill to visit the monument of the victims of the 1915 genocide—all these young people, invested with a lofty spirituality, will not worship an alien pseudoculture.

It also seems strange that the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade has the final word in deciding questions like the volume, circulation, and publication time of the works of, for instance, an Armenian, Georgian, Ukrainian, or Turkmen classic or modern writer.

It is well known that language is one of the main linchpins of a nation, the spiritual territory on which a people feel themselves strong and stable. The loss of a language is an irreparable, irreplaceable loss. This fact was formulated with the utmost precision by the outstanding Russian teacher Ushinskiy. "As long as the people's language is alive on the lips of the people, the people are also alive."

It is probably for precisely this reason that you will not find in the world a literature or poetry which does not praise its native language, which does not call for its native speech to be treasured. Let us recall, for all their overdramatization, the lines of Anna Akhmatova, written during the Great Patriotic War, lines which make your heart stand still when you read them.

There is no fear in lying dead beneath the bullets,  
No bitterness in remaining without a home,  
If we preserve you, our Russian speech  
The great Russian word  
Carry you free and pure  
And give you to our grandchildren and save you from captivity  
Forever!

No less dramatic is the poem written years ago by Rasul Gamzatov, which contains the following words:

And if my language disappears tomorrow  
I am prepared to die today.

Rasul Gamzatov, I myself, and other national writers are indebted to the great Russian word through which our national cultural values have met with a broad response in the world. It is superfluous to mention that to read Pushkin, Dostoyevskiy, and Tolstoy in the original is to gain direct access to the summits which mankind has reached.

For Soviet people the Russian language is the great messenger of our peoples and cultures. It reliably cements the political, economic, and spiritual unity of the community of socialist nations. That is why it gives us great joy that the teaching of the Russian language has improved markedly in the national schools, for instance in our republic of Armenia: For the intensive assimilation of the subject each class has been divided into groups of 10-12 pupils. But it causes us an equal degree of sorrow that the union ministry of education does not allow the same method to be used for the study of the Armenian language in the republic's Russian schools where 90 percent of pupils are Armenians, although many pupils have only a poor knowledge of their own language.

I do not know how it is in other republics but with every passing year the sphere of application of our native language is narrowing in Armenia. Not only in institutions of union importance but also in strictly local institutions Armenian is gradually going out of official circulation. This has led to the point where parents are hesitant to send their children to Armenian schools. It is not worth explaining that when a language remains mainly a social language it starts to ossify, lags behind, and loses its age-old ability to join in the general movement of the development of human thought. Of course, we are a long way from that. Nonetheless there are grounds for alarm.

It would be wrong to explain existing losses merely by orders from above. A large share of the blame also rests with local institutions and officials at various levels who until recently frequently masked flaws in their work beneath slogans of internationalism.

It is these "patrons" who have been generous at the state's expense who have frequently transformed into formality and window-dressing events promoting the peoples' genuine rapprochement such as 10-day festivals of literature and art, symposiums, and jubilees. The republics have been vying with each other to see who can gather the most guests, whose tables will break under the weight of wines and brandy, whose toasts and endless salutations will be the most resonant.

It was painful to admit that concepts which have become sacred to each of us when expressed by "ideologists" without ideals have produced the opposite effect, have weakened faith in our common cause, and discredited Lenin's principles of the brotherhood of the peoples.

The role of the Russian people and Russian culture in the further rapprochement of the socialist nations is an enormous and crucial one. It is appropriate to recall the words of Academician D.S. Likhachev in his sketch "Notes about the Russian Language:" "...A great people, a people with their own great culture and their own national traditions, are obliged to be good, especially if the fate of a small people is joined with them. A great people must help a small people to preserve themselves, their language, and their culture."

Gorkiy and Bryusov, Tikhonov and Fadeyev, Tvardovskiy and Simonov and many other figures of culture who by their efforts have done everything to help the tree of friendship grow and strengthen were worthy sons of Russia. How important it is--to know how to respect other peoples and to understand their history and literature. Their joys and sorrows!

Unfortunately, we still sometimes lack the culture of national relations. This is also manifested in individual people representing a large people in their attitude toward representatives of small peoples. It has an effect in some poems, essays, and stories which offend national dignity. This also percolates to some verbal and written disputes between figures of culture and science belonging to small peoples when historical truths are shamelessly

distorted and attempts are made to arrogate neighbors' cultural values, when they bar each other's way and embark increasingly frenziedly on a race back to the "opposite" finishing line to win the "prize" for antiquity. This is nothing other than a manifestation of national egotism and arrogance.

For a long time it was customary not to talk about all this. Yet keeping quiet and slurring over these errors is a kind of ideological data padding which, like all other data padding, has prevented people from seeing the multilevel, sometimes contradictory picture of reality and drawing realistic conclusions which help matters.

Today, too, when the life-giving wave of restructuring is rising throughout the country, when the old-fashioned word "openness" is acquiring a new resonance and entering our daily vocabulary, and like a mechanical excavator is digging persistently through the thick layer which has accumulated over the years and reaching the Artesian well of the soul to expel all confusion and concern--you want to believe in the power of this expulsion and its healing breath. Through your honest, open words you want to add your drop to the revolutionary wave of restructuring and its renovating strength.

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CSO: 1830/501



## CRITIC DEFENDS COMMENTS ON UZBEK LITERATURE

PM220943 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 14 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by Doctor of Philological Sciences Professor L. Usmanov under the "Editorial Mailbag" rubric: "Sweep It Under the Carpet?"]

[Text] Only recently there was the CPSU Central Committee January plenum, the spirit of which makes not only for a deeper understanding of the processes currently taking place in our life, but for a new look at our chronic diseases, including those which relate to the republic's ideological life and the activity of our creative unions. One of them is the long illness of national "elitism," complacency, and intolerance of criticism among leading circles in our creative intelligentsia.

It looks like the restructuring of the work of creative unions is encountering serious difficulties in Uzbekistan. They were mentioned, in particular, by Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary I. Usmankhodzhayev in his report at the 4th Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Plenum: "It is a sad fact that many workers at ideological institutions and representatives of the creative intelligentsia are afflicted with overweening ambition and inflated self-importance and engage in 'tugs-of-war,' intrigues, squabbles, anonymous letter writing, and slander. This must be stopped once and for all." It is worrying that any work of truth about crisis phenomena in our literature and art is seen as an insult to national dignity and folk culture. And it is particularly deplorable that with us these phenomena are not always evaluated and attacked in sufficient depth and breadth. And sometimes the writers of critical articles have to pay for their action.

I would like to relate one such story. It reveals, it seems to me, not only the writer's "hurt," but also his anxiety for the fate of Uzbek literature and art, for the fate of the restructuring of the entire sphere of the republic's spiritual life.

My article "Looking at the Future" was published in PRAVDA VOSTOKA last October under the "Notes on Modern Uzbek Literature" rubric. It was about the rich artistic traditions and achievements of Uzbek literature associated with the names of Khamza, Aybek, Gafur Gulyam, Abdulla Kakhkhar, Khamid Alimdzhon, K. Yashen, A. Mukhtar, and other outstanding Uzbek writers. Which makes the marked decline in the standard of Uzbek literature in recent decades all the more vexing. Only a small group of writers, whose works, of by no means of dazzling artistic merit, have been published in enormous editions, has found its way into

the pages of republican and central publications. For example, books by Sh. Rashidov were published in editions of more than 1 million on 135 occasions. But works by Uzbek authors have not made their mark in the life of our multinational literature. An atmosphere of pretense, complacency, and cliquishness have reigned in the Writers' Union. The crisis situation has affected all types of art. And what is particularly deplorable is the fact that literature, which is meant to be the conscience of the era, has not reflected at all the negative phenomena in the republic's economic and spiritual life.

The article also referred to the poor development of the major prose genres, particularly the novel about the working class; to the stagnation in the sphere of drama, literature for children and young people, and writing on contemporary issues. I also wrote about criticism, which is causing particular anxiety and which is still living in a dreamworld, and tried to provide an objective picture and assessment of the present state of Uzbek literature and to talk about the tasks of restructuring literary activity in the republic, in particular democratization of all aspects of the activities of the Uzbek Writers' Union. To be frank, I had hoped that the article would produce a lively response in writers' circles, that it would be discussed at the republic's Writers Union and be given due consideration.

So how did the leaders of the Writers Union and our leading literary figures, whom the article is concerned with, react to it?

With enviable dispatch, the critic Umarali Normatov and the poet Ramz Babadzhan leaped into print in the paper OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI (Uzbekistan Literature and Art--organ of the Uzbek Writers Union and Uzbek SSR Ministry of Culture), followed by Khafiz Abdusamatov. They were writing in a paper whose chief editor is republican people's writer Adyl Yakubov. That's right, the very writer whose novel "conscience" ["Sovest"] I took the liberty of criticizing for its lack of thematic and structural coherence. The editor must have been badly offended to decide so quickly to teach the "malicious" critic a lesson, on the lines of: Since it's my own paper, I do what I want.

What am I being charged with by the republican literary paper? First of all, that I am a "nihilist," that I am "trampling Uzbek literature in the dirt," that if only I knew a little about it and read the critical literature about it (for example, works by U. Normatov or Kh. Abdusamatov?!), I would not dare to "belittle" it. The quality of my lectures at the institute is also called into question.

Now, if my opponents do not agree with the article's theses, they should have presented their arguments and their facts. Why not, for example, show me, in that same literary paper, that modern Uzbek literature and criticism have successfully revealed all the shortcomings mentioned at the 27th CPSU Congress and 21st Congress and 2d Plenum of the Uzbek Communist Party, instead of singing the praises of party and economic leaders, many of whom subsequently found themselves in the dock for presenting false figures, for embezzlement, deception, and so forth? Nor would it hurt to name the supreme artistic achievements they ascribe to the authors I "criticized" in my article. And why should only they

and people who think like them, so called experts, write about Uzbek literature? Why shouldn't people with different views write about it?

The best Ulmas Umarbekov, head of the republic's writers' organization, could do by way of argument was merely to state at the third Uzbek Writers' Board Plenum and during a meeting with Tashkent State University students that the article "looking at the Future" presents a distorted picture of the development of our literature and its author simply does not know our remarkable writers and critics, does know life.

To be frank, the "defamation" of the author of the critical article spread to various departments, at various levels, and with varying intensity. It is not easy withstanding the major and minor assaults, the threatening phone calls and anonymous letters. Professor M. Tokhtakhodzhayeva, prorector for science at the Tashkent State Pedagogical Institute named for Nizami, balsted the "harmful" article... and then demanded that everything I intend to publish should be submitted to her.

The central papers have said before what a false and narrow concept some of our creative workers have of "national dignity" and that love of one's republic, culture, and literature does not mean protecting them against criticism and objective and sober evaluation and from the struggle against stagnant, obsolete, and negative phenomena in all spheres of their people's economic and spiritual life.

The desire to sweep things under the carpet at all costs, to blur contradictions, and hide shortcomings is obviously more widespread than it appears. So we must return to the same old question. But now we should be directly asking those whose status requires them to be earnestly engaged in restructuring the republic's entire artistic life: Hasn't the disease of elitism and complacency gone on too long and isn't it time to switch from loud pretense to real live action? Isn't it time to embark on a wider democratization of ideological life and our creative unions' activity?

I entertain the hope that readers, colleagues, and, in particular, fellow Uzbeks will respond to the article and participate in the discussion of the vital problems of the development of our artistic life, questions of the fundamental restructuring of our social consciousness and our very attitude to creative tasks in general and to conditions in the national republics in particular.

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CSO: 1800/607

RSFSR JUSTICE MINISTER ON SOVIET LEGAL SYSTEM, HUMAN RIGHTS

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 14 (Apr 12-19) 87 p 7

[Interview with Alexander Sukharev, Russian Federation's Minister of Justice and President of the Association of Soviet Lawyers, by Nikolai Zaborin]

[Excerpts]

**Q.:** Now about "political prisoners" in the USSR. Wide use is made of this term in the West. Could you explain the situation?

**A.:** Our legislation does not know such a term and *corpus delicti* as political crime. In this respect, we have no analogies with the legislations of the Western countries.

Our All-Union Basic Principles of Criminal Legislation and the Criminal Codes of the Union Republics have a section - state crimes. The Criminal Code contains statutes which envisage responsibility for undermining or weakening the state system of the USSR through agitation or propaganda - this is Article 70. A different, more often distorted, interpretation of it is given abroad. But its substance is clear: the antistate orientation of agitation or propaganda.

Incidentally, I could cite articles from the criminal legislation of the FRG, France, Britain, Italy, the USA and many other capitalist countries which envisage fairly strict penalties (all the way to imprisonment) for calling for "unrest", for "undermining the prestige", the "economic and defence potential" of the country, for "disrespect for state rituals", etc.

Of course, Article 70 has a political colouring since its purpose is to cut short hostile actions. But this has nothing in common with the allegations of Western propaganda that in the USSR people are arrested for dissent, convictions and for criticizing the authorities. These allegations are absurd, if not deliberately false. Sometimes I wonder: is there anywhere in the West a leader who would so openly, profoundly and frankly speak about his party and the social processes in the country as done by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 27th CPSU Congress, at the April 1985 and January 1987 Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee? It is worth opening any Soviet newspaper to understand the

absurdity of our foes' claims. What do we usually hear from Western politicians? Mostly eulogies addressed to their parties and their leaders - especially when they stay in office. They heap criticisms on the government cabinet only at the election period, if it is run by their rivals.

It is a different matter if, in our country, in the guise of criticism or "dissent", some people commit unlawful acts, i.e., crimes, which are clearly designated in our legislation. In this case the transgressors bear criminal responsibility, and the law-enforcement bodies are in duty bound to stand guard over the law firmly and relentlessly. The law is the same for everyone - leaders and rank-and-file workers, religious believers and atheists, Communists and non-Party people.

If one takes a look at the cases of those convicted, as it was alleged in the West, for dissent, one is immediately struck by two peculiarities. First, the connection of most of these persons with foreign anti-Soviet circles, notably the Narodno-Trudovoi Soluz (NTS), which make no secret of their main objective - struggle against Soviet power, or liaison with foreign intelligence centres, the receipt from them of instructions, handouts, etc. The second peculiarity is the noise immediately raised as if on command in the West.

I remember the case of Shcharansky: in the court it was proved beyond all doubt - on the basis of testimony by witnesses and his own confessions - that he had engaged in espionage. But when he felt that he would have to answer for this, he invented the version of dissent, which was immediately fanned up in the West.

**Q.:** You mentioned the democratization and humanitarianization of our legislation and the practice of its application. What specifically is this expressed in?



A.: Notice, for instance, how extensively and exactly the activities of our law-enforcement bodies are being publicized in the press today. We had a period when the activities of judiciary bodies were considered almost a prohibited theme. At any rate, they were reported occasionally and very poorly. Today, however, all the units of our law-enforcement mechanism are subjected, I would say, to nationwide control. Look how many these days - before the election of people's judges - there have been reports from judges and people's assessors in the collectives, to their electors. What an impartial discussion is going on about putting things in order in the work of the law-enforcement bodies themselves, increasing their role in the struggle against corruption, bribe taking and other abuses! Judges, investigators, procurators and workers at departments on struggle against embezzlement of socialist property are taking a serious exam. This is a result of unprecedented openness and enhanced public intolerance of

transgressions of the law.

A large amount of work is being carried out to improve our legislation - civil, labour, housing, administrative and criminal. For instance, in the past two to three years we have introduced addenda and specifications into approximately 100 articles of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (containing a total of 270 articles). Similar changes have been made in the Criminal Codes of the other Republics. In all of this we have also taken into account the wishes of the working people. The general orientation of the changes in criminal legislation is humanitarianization, differentiation of responsibility, and replacement of imprisonment with other methods of influence.

I would express the gist of the changes going on in the legal sphere as follows: from time to time we ought to carry out an auditing and inventory of our juridical house. We should preserve everything positive and discard statutory stereotypes that have failed to stand the test of the time.

/9317

CSO: 1812/196

WORKERS EXPRESS DOUBTS ABOUT PROPOSED ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by M. Berger, under the rubric "The Enterprise and Restructuring: Discussion of the USSR Draft Law": "Elections? Yes. But What Kind?" first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Today, there undoubtedly is not a single enterprise or group of workers where they are not discussing the draft of the new law. This document has aroused its share of disputes, opinions, and passions, and it is being discussed not only at meetings and conferences, but also informally and unofficially. An IZVESTIYA correspondent was present at one such informal discussion, at the Moscow Stankoagregat production association imeni 60th Anniversary of the USSR.

Some aspects of the draft won wholehearted approval, other aspects raised doubts, and still others raised questions among the participants in the discussion: L.M. Borisova, the head bookkeeper; V.P. Isanin, the general director; V.L. Kofman, head of the automated enterprise control system; G.M. Ovakimyan, a shop superintendent; and S.V. Chirkov, a brigade leader. The extent of their interest and even their occasional harsh judgment demonstrates, above all, that the people want the new law to be an effective restructuring tool.

[G. Ovakimyan] A whole section of the draft law is devoted to management and self-management and much is written about the election of managers, from brigade leaders to directors. But I still don't understand how the candidates will be nominated. There isn't a word about this in the draft.

If the nomination of candidates for brigade leaders, foremen, or section heads is for me to decide, then, willy-nilly, I will choose people who suit me as the shop superintendent, those with whom I have the best relationship. But I can't guarantee that my opinion will in all cases coincide with the opinion of the brigades.

[V. Kofman] I think that everyone who aspires to a managerial position must present a program so that people can know not only who, but what they are voting for.

[V. Isanin] Be that as it may, we need to elect not a program, since we already have one -- the plan, but an individual capable of implementing it. The problem lies elsewhere. Let us suppose, that throughout the year the organization above us, the ministry or chief committee, continually assigns us additional tasks and adds to the plan, and indeed this actually does happen without any supposing. How will the workers like that? Not at all, I imagine. What will they do then, retire me? After all, it will have turned out that I promised them one set of working conditions, and now I am making them work under another, more difficult, set; thus it can be said that I have deceived them.

[S. Chirkov] Vladimir Pavlovich, I wouldn't want to elect you, altogether.

[V. Isanin] Why is that? Don't you like the way I work?

[S. Chirkov] That's not the point. The distance between the worker and the director is too great. I cannot picture the true scope of your duties, and thus I cannot judge how well you are carrying them out. Perhaps, I could judge on the basis of the general success of the plant? But maybe this is the doing of your deputies. I tell you frankly, I am not prepared to evaluate your work.

[V. Isanin] So it turns out that they are granting you rights, but you are afraid to use them.

[S. Chirkov] I don't see that much good will come of introducing the mandated democratic procedures at the shop or plant level. This is why I have my doubts about electing a director. A brigade leader of shop superintendent I can understand. Everybody sees how they work, and they're our people, from the plant. But since 1961 when I started working here, there have been seven directors and not one has come from within the plant; they've all been outsiders, including you, Vladimir Pavlovich.

I don't know if this system of selecting our foremost leaders is good or bad, but I don't think it will change much after the new law goes into effect. This means, it is not impossible that a situation will arise where they bring us a complete stranger and say: "Here is your director, vote for him." What do we do then? Vote against him? But on what grounds? Trust the recommendation completely? But then why vote? In the present system, at least I don't feel that I'm pretending that someone else's decision is my own: they nominated him and they appointed him.

Or, what if, on the other hand, we name our own director? He still, as the draft law says, has to be ratified by the powers that be. In such a situation one or the other has to be a formality -- either the election or the ratification. And it is not hard to guess which one it will be.

[L. Borisova] Sergey Vasilyevich, you say that there won't be any problem in electing foremen and shop superintendents. Tell me what kind of foreman your brigade needs?

[S. Chirkov] The kind who can stand up for our shop.

[L. Borisova] What does stand up for the shop mean? Managing to get a plan you can fulfill without strain, getting you the newest equipment? And will you want to reelect him after the next time the quotas are cut? Or what if your candidate for leader proposes that you adopt a long-term program which will lead to a temporary decrease in earnings, followed, after a year or two, by an increase in wages? Would the shop vote for him?

[S. Chirkov] I think they would.

[L. Borisova] And what if he were to propose to use the money earned by the shop to buy equipment which would put 150 out of 200 people out of work? In other words, after the equipment had been bought the majority of workers would go back to the personnel division [for reassignment]. Would people vote for such a leader?

[S. Chirkov] To tell the truth I'm not sure. I'm afraid they wouldn't.

[L. Borisova] How can the interests of cost accounting be reconciled with those of self-management?

[V. Isanin] All these numerous and difficult issues arise, in my opinion, because the draft law does not stipulate the mechanisms through which the management candidates will be nominated, or clear criteria for evaluating their performance. Without such a mechanism, there is a danger that these elections will turn into yet another pure formality.

And here is another thought that came to me with regard to electing management, including professional administrators. Doesn't such a decision imply our acknowledgement of the inadequacy of our system for training personnel for various levels of management so that we are transferring that burden to the shoulders of the workers?

[V. Kofman] I cannot agree. After all, we elect people's judges from among professionally trained people, but no one takes this as casting doubts on the efficacy of our legal education system.

[V. Isanin] Do you happen to remember the name of the judge you voted for in the last election? There, you see? Won't the plant elections also turn into a mere formal collection of votes for an already agreed upon set of candidates?

[V. Kofman] That isn't a valid analogy. I haven't had any dealings with the judge up to now and I hope that I won't in the future. But I will deal with the director virtually every day.

[V. Isanin] But what is the director to you? To be frank, I don't understand what, in general, his role will be after the new law comes into force. What rights will he retain, aside from the right to be accountable to everyone and to be evaluated? At the beginning of February I gave a report to the party and economic activ, and last week I gave another to the collective agreement conference. Now I'm giving yet another report to the labor collective



soviet. The draft law says, "The supervisor will be allotted certain rights for organizing the operation of the enterprise, and will be responsible for its results..." What are these "certain rights," what kind of responsibility?

Or: "In the system of self-management, the head of the enterprise will express the will of the workers' collective and the interests of the state." I can't call this formulation excessively clear. What will the head under the system of self-management do if, let us say, the interests of the collective and the state do not coincide? What if, for example, I were to remove the shop superintendent, but the meeting said, "No! He might not suit the director, but he suits us very well: no matter what kind of work we do... we always have our money." Would you call this a desirable situation? How would we extricate ourselves from it?

The draft law says that production managers, shop superintendents, etc. can be removed by the head of the enterprise on the basis of a decision by the workers collective of the appropriate division. Well, what if we disagree? whose decision will prevail, that of the director or of the meeting?

I'm also not clear about the labor collective council. Could I, for example, be made a member of a commission for monitoring the work of the director? In my opinion this would be illogical. But for some reason the law proposes that representatives of the administration be elected to the council which monitors the work of the administration.

Several long paragraphs of the draft law are devoted to the authority of the council. But there isn't a single line about the responsibility of the council. Who will be accountable if I make the wrong decision under pressure from the council? Without a doubt I will be. But what about the council?

Doesn't it look as if monitoring will be collective, decisions will be joint, but accountability will be personal and will fall only on managers?

[S. Chirkov] The draft law has a lot to say about the autonomy of the of the enterprise. Ever since I began working, I've heard, like an incantation, "You are the master of the plant! You are the master..." But what kind of a master am I if I don't have the right to do what I like with my property. We wanted to write a clause into our collective agreement saying that the guys who come to us from the army will receive a loan of 200 rubles. And after 2 years their debt will be forgiven. But they prevented us, claiming that it would cause so many problems in settling accounts, especially with those who want to leave the plant before the stipulated time, that it was better not to do it at all..

[L. Borisova] The draft law appears to be giving us many rights, including that of determining what to do with our funds. But everywhere you find the proviso "within the limits stipulated by the law." The new law doesn't revoke a single one of the many things we are forbidden to do. How can it function under such conditions?

And another thing, the law doesn't give us any guarantee that the rayon ispolkom will stop assigning us tasks which are not mentioned in any plan nor recorded in any accounting statement.

[G. Ovakimyan] Why do you say that? The draft clearly states that the soviet of people's deputies has decreed that work not stipulated in the plan will be performed in accordance with economic contracts which will provide compensation for expenses on the part of the organizations for which the work is performed.

[L. Borisova] But how can we establish a cost accounting relationship with the builders of the maternity home for which we provide additional workers "for free" only because this facility is listed as one of the rayon's socialist obligations? Not to mention the vegetable warehouse which pays 46 kopecks a day for a worker, while he costs us 11 rubles.

[V. Isanin] It isn't even a matter of compensation for expenses. Where are we to get funds for the materials needed to perform the tasks assigned to us by the local soviets? The draft law gives no answer to this, but this is the major problem. A few days ago I received an assignment from the ispolkom to build two wooden wigwams for the spring fair. "What," I asked, "am I supposed to build them out of?" "The trade organization will pay for everything." "But where," I continued, "am I to get the wood and metal? Give us some funds for the materials and we'll do anything you ask." As I spoke I got the feeling that my listener didn't understand me. All he said in reply was, "It's got to be done."

I am fully convinced that, while the relationship between the enterprises and the council continues to be regulated by such "it's got to be done," there will be neither autonomy, nor cost accounting, nor self-financing. All we can achieve is the appearance of such things, not their reality.

We are already contributing to increasing the local budget and improving the social conditions of the rayon. Why do they keep demanding more, at times even compelling us to resort to illegal actions?

Yes, of course we have to help the kindergartens and the schools, and the vegetable warehouses. But only on a legal, planned basis. If necessary, let's establish a reserve of supplies and equipment for the soviet for use in performing the tasks it assigns us. After all, in the final analysis the resources are always found, it's just a matter of how they are obtained.

The draft law in no way clarifies the issues of our relations to the territories, nor does it provide a precise, unambiguous formulation of our mutual rights and duties within these relations. The statement, for example, that an enterprise can finance the repair and outfitting of schools is altogether strange for a legislative act. What if it can but doesn't want to, is that all right too? And yet the draft contains more than one such unconditional statement.

Of course, the draft law contains a number of general solutions which are highly essential to enable us to work under our new conditions, and the realization of these solutions will help to achieve restructuring. But there is too much in the draft law which is merely high-sounding rhetoric, a statement of what would be desirable, and, as we all know, even the sincerest desire for health does not guarantee it.

It seems to me that it would be useful to assemble groups of the best experts and practitioners: directors of enterprises, bookkeepers, designers, suppliers, etc., and use "brain storming" techniques to work out the appropriate clauses of the draft. The city or oblast soviets could organize such discussions.

9285

CSU: 1800/429

LEGAL EXPERTS DISCUSS CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

LD040114 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 3 May 87

[Text] [Announcer] Professional lawyers in the USSR have been working on a new criminal code and the debate has now spread onto the pages of newspapers and TV screens. All kinds of controversial points have been taken up in the course of the debate, but the question is: Will public opinion have any decisive effect on the final wording of the criminal code? Do legal experts treat it seriously?—a question Nikolay Borin put to Professor Aleksandr Yakovlev.

[Begin recording] [Yakovlev] Yes, of course. First of all, I'd like to stress that public opinion concerning the problems of criminal law are a rather specific part of public opinion. You know, it's emotionally charged sphere of public opinion, and I think it is just common feature of this kind of opinion it tends to be more or less rigoristic [as heard]. It's quite understandable, because everyone who thinks about the problem of crime and combating crime sees as a most simple answer to a crime to be more severe. So, we are taking into account not every kind of public opinion because more rational, more balanced approach the problem of effectiveness of criminal law shows us that not the severity of punishment but its effectiveness, it's not the same thing. [sentence as received] So, public opinion just is right when it is asking us to be more effective. But what kind of punishment but its effectiveness, it's not the same thing. So, public opinion just is right when it is asking us to be more effective. But what kind of punishment is more effective? That's a problem for a professional, scientific approach to this answer. So we took the public opinion as a starting point, as a lawful demand for more protection, in streets, in houses, in public offices, and after that we go into a specific sphere, a sphere of scientific approach to the problem of effectiveness of criminal law.

[Borin] Thank you. Now I have the concrete question: Many people, and lawyers among them, oppose the death penalty. Don't you think it's time to abolish capital punishment?

[Yakovlev] I think that it's the more acute problem among many, many other problems of criminal law, and the most emotionally charged as well. My personal opinion is, I consider the capital punishment as absolutely ineffective as regarding the general prevention. The statistic shows that regardless of the application of capital punishment, the crime rates are approximately the same as compared without capital punishment or with capital punishment.



But I think that there is one specific area of where law is applying now, capital punishment, is in the sphere of economic crimes. You know, in our law now we are punishing, not in every case of course, but (?more) severe cases of premeditated murder, for example, with this kind of punishment, but also several kinds of especially grave economic offences, such as embezzlement on a very grand scale, and so on and so forth.

I think that first of all we must abolish capital punishment as regarding to these economic kinds of crimes. I think that no amount of money, no amount of any material value must be compared with the value of a human life as such. And I think that it's the more broad agreement now--to abolish capital punishment as regarding the economic crimes.

As regarding the capital punishment as a whole, my personal view is in favor of it. But to be realistic, I am not so sure that everyone among the lawyers, not (?so in the) broad public, among lawyers (?will believe me) in this position. So I think that more realistic expectation now is to expect the... [changes thought] I am almost sure that we will abolish capital punishment as regards economic crimes. As regarding other crimes of, first of all, premeditated murder, murder with especial aggravating circumstances, I think that perhaps we will try to have it as narrow limit as possible, to define in law very strict limits into the application of capital punishment.

By the way, I think I must add, and I think it's very useful to stress for our audience which may be not conscious of certain specific procedural aspects of this, the application of this crime, of this punishment, (?rather): What I'm having in mind, every kind of sentence is liable to be applied [as heard] to a higher court and (?courts is looking) into the, the sentence as regarding the gravity of crime, of punishment as well. It is up to a convicted person to apply [as heard] his sentence. But in the case of capital punishment, it is a state's obligation to look into every case after the sentence went into the full force, to look from the point of possibility of amnesty. Every sentence is [to] go above the judicial system into the Supreme Soviet. (?In) Supreme Soviet every case is reviewing from one point of view: Is there enough grounds for application [of] this kind of punishment, exceptional one (?as we saw) in law? And if not, to change it into the not so severe kind of punishment.

[Borin] But still, errors in the legal system does occur, even when the sentence is the death penalty.

[Yakovlev] Yes, yes. And you known, the instances of this penalty more, well, more exciting for the people when it is applied in very well-known cases such as the embezzlement, on one man, who was managing director of very well-known department store. And it draws very much public attention, but it's not very often [these] sentences are of such kind.

[Borin] Now I want to ask you this question: Is something being done to broaden human rights and promote glasnost, that is, openness in Soviet society?

[Yakovlev] You know, this subject also very broad one, and I just narrow myself down to a specific problem of glasnost, or human rights, regarding the criminal

justice. Two points I'd like to point out more, [words indistinct]. First, it's agreement among lawyers, and I think it will be done, I'm sure it will be done, to brought the counsel for defense, advocate, to the early stages of criminal procedure. [as received] Now he had a right to intervene on behalf of his client after the preliminary investigation is closed, and ask some additional things to be done. Now we think it's quite necessary to have an opportunity to brought into the criminal justice process for counsel for the defense at the early possible stage, when a person has been arrested or interrogated, and I think it will be done in the nearest future. So it's broad consensus.

Second point: The democratization of the criminal justice process had the very specific air, the air of layman participation on criminal justice. now we have one judge and two lay assessors. We--all of us, our lawyers are quite united--are, (?as) regarding the problem of to have much more lay representatives in the courts, to have them at least where the case is very severe, and the punishment may be rather strong, to have four or six laymen and one judge, perhaps two judges and five laymen. And some of us are even in favor of separating the decision of a question, (?as) regarding decision of guilt and decision of qualification in law of this kind.

So, perhaps, I'll (?ask) that the lay assessors be given right to (?decide) being separated from a judge, the problem of guilt: guilty or not guilty. That's just the verdict in Anglo-Saxon system of law. And after that, judge will have some, some law qualifications on this. I'm not sure this will be, well [words indistinct] my view, but broaden the public representation in a criminal court. I think these things will be done--I'm sure.

[Borin] This will be democratize the justice system...

[Yakovlev, interrupting] Considerably, considerably. I am quite, I'm quite sure of that. Any undue influence which may be influencing a judge or prosecutor in favor of some local influences may be [word indistinct] only if a strong and very informed, very well-informed public opinion will be presented in the figures of, so to speak, the lay assessors sitting on a bench, using the same rights as the professional judge. I think you cann, well, you can influence one man, one professional judge, perhaps two. But to influence 6 or perhaps 12 lay (?advisers) will be much more difficult! And that's the first thing.

And second thing, I think, very important. Now we are in favor in deciding to put the criminal statistics for publication, for publication. It was so in my country up to the beginning of thirties, and now we make serious effort to re-introduce the publication of a crime rates figure: the rates of crimes and the amount of punishment of people, and so on and so forth. And this will broaden this informational aspect of public opinion. Glasnost will be effective only if it will be informed by the well-informed, and I'm sure that this endeavor will also be brought into this successful end. We will have the opened and published criminal statistics.

[Borin] Thank you, Aleksandr Yakovlev. [end recording]

/12232

CSO: 1812/189

LAW OFFICIALS OVEREAGER, CARELESS IN UNEARNED INCOME FIGHT

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 87 p 6

[Article by N. Mironov, PRAVDA staff correspondent: "A 'Fact' for the Report: The Consequences of Formalism in the Struggle Against Unearned Income;" first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk--The article the people of Marganets read in their oblast paper on 17 January shook them more than the tragic event which preceded it. The matter of I. Vitkovskiy appeared in a completely different light. Here are events which led up to this.

At the end of October of last year, the body of the former head of the design and planning bureau of the Marganets Mining and Ore Dressing Combine was found on the flats not far from the city. The circumstances leading up to this tragedy were well known in Marganets. In his report to a meeting of the party and economic aktiv devoted to measures taken in the campaign against unearned income, I. Kovalev, first secretary of the party gorkom, accused the head of the design and planning bureau of deriving unearned income, calling his actions "moral degradation." After this, I. Vitkovskiy was expelled from the party and the procurator's office submitted an application of claim to the court.

Vitkovskiy was unable to bear all this and did away with himself. And although no one expected things to end like this, it wasn't difficult to understand. After all, there had been various rumors. But all of them were based on a single source -- the report made to the meeting of the aktiv, which implied that Vitkovskiy's unearned income was derived from subletting a cooperative one-room apartment to tenants. Vitkovskiy's children were listed as living in this apartment. When this "revelation" was made, the design director, who had a reputation at the enterprise of being a competent specialist and a man with a gentle nature, was unable to stand the accusations heaped upon him.

This tragedy caused a great deal of agitation in the city. The rumors wouldn't die. In lines, buses, small and large groups everyone talked about the "terrible thefts," the "ill-gotten thousands," and the "fear of trial." The rumors were fed by the commissions which sprung up everywhere.

And then in January, when everyone was expecting terrible exposures concerning Vitkovskiy, suddenly the unexpected occurred. The oblast newspaper announced: "The Ukrainian CP Obkom Buro has considered the question of the unjustified accusation that CPSU member I.A. Vitkovskiy received unearned income." The details provided turned things around by 180 degrees. The information gleaned by the party obkom buro implied that the report presented at the meeting of the aktiv of the city's party organizations utilized biased, undocumented information from the city people's control committee. The primary party organization decided to expel Vitkovskiy without thorough verification of the facts and virtually without discussion. The city procurator's office had no grounds for bringing suit in the people's court. The article ended by describing the measures which had been taken to punish the guilty. I. Kovalev, first secretary of the Marganets party gorkom, was given a strict reprimand which was entered in his record and was asked to resign his post.

I arrived in Marganets on the eve of the plenum where the decree of the party obkom buro was to be discussed. The article in the paper merely told what had happened, but didn't explain how it could have occurred. Yet, wasn't this the crux of the matter? After all it wasn't just a single individual who had made a mistake, but a number of officials simultaneously, and, what is more, officials working in organs of the highest authority -- the party gorkom, people's control committee, and procurator's office. At the plenum, the members of the gorkom were empowered to hear their explanations and to decide whether these comrades should continue to be entrusted with peoples' fates.

And here is where something inexplicable occurred. No one even thought of explaining their own actions. The procedure of removing I. Kovalev and electing a new gorkom first secretary, along with the report by N. Zadoy, second secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk party obkom, on the results of the obkom buro's consideration of this "matter" took 20 minutes. After this, they spent 2 hours discussing the gorkom buro's report on work done after the reports-elections conference. They did their utmost not to return to the topic of the tragedy.

The sole question addressed to N. Zadoy from the hall, "Well, did Vitkovskiy have unearned income or not?" went unanswered. However, an answer was required since the obkom buro's decision rehabilitating Vitkovskiy remained obscure to the plenum, as well as to the members of the gorkom buro -- to Yu. Trubchaninov, the chairman of the people's control commission, who started the whole thing; to V. Plyusnin, the former head of the gorkom organization section, who cited the story of the subletting of the apartment as an example of "moral degradation" in his report; to V. Novikov, the chairman of the gorkom's party commission, who, without waiting for the procurator's conclusion, hurried to put this issue before a buro session. All these people thought that they had exposed the "true face" of Vitkovskiy.

But what was the real story? Yes, there really was an apartment. There were indeed tenants; and they did pay Vitkovskiy -- 75 rubles a quarter, exactly what the municipal services plus the appropriate share of the loan payment cost. But this "bribery" had been going on not since 1977, as people reading the account of the aktiv meeting in the newspaper were led to believe, but since January 1985, when Vitkovskiy's daughter, Marina, got married and went



to live where her husband worked. She filled out a regulation certificate for the apartment. The sum of money paid to her by the renters during that time came to 285 rubles 93 kopecks. The procurator's mistake was that according to the law, if suit were to be brought at all, it should have been against Marina, as owner of the apartment, and not against her father. However, there was no need to sue at all since her father had voluntarily offered to pay back the money on behalf of his daughter, so as not to "traumatize her and his wife," as he put it. This wasn't against the law either. But the procurator's office wanted a suit. We will go into the reason for this a little later. So this, in short, was how matters stood.

"I didn't pay attention to all the details!" I. Kovalev, former first secretary of the party gorkom, told me later in explanation of his actions.

Yu. Trubchaninov, the chairman of the people's control committee, was unable to explain why he gave such a biased presentation of the facts. The former head of the administrative department, V. Plyusin, was very frank, "Things just happened this way. I was writing a report for the meeting of the aktiv. I needed an example. I called the people's control committee and asked Trubchaninov whether he had anything suitable. 'I do have something,' he answered, 'but it hasn't been fully investigated yet, this matter of Vitkovskiy.' 'Finish it as soon as possible!' I advised him."

Trubchaninov sent the "information" he had prepared to three places, the party gorkom, the primary party organization, and the procurator's office, and considered that his mission was thus accomplished. At that point they hadn't even asked Vitkovskiy for an explanation. He was out of town. And when he returned they showed him the city newspaper with a description of his "artifice."

The measures taken by the design director were decisive. He returned the apartment to the cooperative and acknowledged his guilt without demur, "I knew about it, but I didn't put a stop to it." By the time the buro met to discuss the problem, this "personal matter" had begun to take on a somewhat different aspect. The members of the buro saw not "an embezzler of thousands," a "morally degraded" type, but someone who had gotten mixed up in something, not without help from his family, and deeply regretted it.

Three personal matters were considered that day at the gorkom buro meeting. Vitkovskiy, as we already know, was expelled from the CPSU for his "unearned income." L. Tretyak, a cook in canteen No 23, charged with a shortfall of 2,000 rubles for which he was accused of a criminal offense, was allowed to remain in the party with a strict reprimand entered into his record. I. Mamontova, former chairman of the gorispolkom, got off with only a reprimand and loss of her job for serious violations of the housing legislation.

What is the principle underlying the behavior of the members of the gorkom buro. Why did they punish Vitkovskiy more than the others?

"Because everyone needed a 'scapegoat' for the report," says L. Sosedko, assistant city procurator, openly. "Every month we must report to the oblast procurator's office on our campaign against unearned income. How many cases

we have identified, how many we've checked on, how many raids we've made, how many suits we've brought ... And what can you put in the report if none of this has occurred? The suit against Vitkovskiy was our first demonstration that we too had begun to fight. The people's control committee also needed this "scapegoat." They too have to submit reports..."

And are there many apartment owners in the city deriving unearned income? The city ispolkom gave me the following information. The number of families living in reserved apartments is 338. An additional 184 families rent living space in the private sector. No one has previously questioned the nature of the contracts between the apartment owners and the renters to see whether they were within the law.

There is an additional aspect of the question which we cannot omit. What is the result of the superior administrative organs exerting pressure to speed up reports on the measures taken in the campaign against unearned income? Only the appearance of the struggle against evil. After all, all kinds of small fish, poachers, chauffeurs who illegally transport passengers, petty embezzlers, and speculators are caught in the net cast by the law enforcement agencies and inspectors. There's no question that all these evils must be fought. But why is it that the major violators escape their responsibilities?

Not long ago the oblast people's control committee publicized the results of their audits and the measures taken with regard to "the serious shortcomings in the operation of the oblast trade administration." In 13 of the 16 trade organizations they audited, they found unjustified inclusions of financial assets in the volume of goods turnover. The losses due to violations in price reductions and salary payments alone were 359,000 and 310,000 rubles. False reporting of data, unjustified write-offs of goods, embezzlement, and other machinations accounted for losses of hundreds of thousands of dollars in the trade organizations. And how did the auditing service of the administration respond to this? They did nothing at all.

And how were the managers of the oblast trade committee called to account for this? I quote: "The oblast people's control committee gave a thorough evaluation of the managers who had allowed such blatant errors in the work of the trade organizations. The attention of the head of the oblast trade administration, V. Kudeli, was called to this. V. Kotyukh, the deputy head of the administration, N. Osadchiy, and T. Tretyak were severely reprimanded. And how about managers at the next lower level? How did the committee reckon with them? A total of 489 individuals in positions of authority were held responsible; of these 6 were removed from their jobs.

Isn't the fact that last year the financial agencies of the oblast uncovered figure inflation in 135 enterprises and associations of over 400 million rubles a direct consequence of this kind of "high-mindedness" in dealing with wrongdoers? After all, all this isn't merely a cover up of the consequences of unsatisfactory work, but also leads to the forming of illegal economic incentive funds, and unmerited awarding of monetary prizes. In other words, it leads to unearned income, at terrible material and moral costs to society.

The incident which occurred in Marganets was tragic and exceptional. But it has pointed up the complex and extraordinary problems of the campaign against unearned income. This campaign must be conducted rigorously and without compromise. However, while the legal punishment of such an act is important, society's moral condemnation of it is even more so. And for this to occur, the administrative measures which are taken must be just, not only with respect to the letter of the law, but with respect to the spirit of our community life. If this is not the case, then the struggle against wrongdoing becomes simply a pursuit of statistics in which mistakes cannot be avoided.

9285

CSO: 1800/432

# SLOT MACHINE THIEVES MEET STATE PLAN BEFORE STEALING

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 87 p 6

[Article by M. Khazin, senior justice counsellor, under the rubric "Ironical Detective": "At the Arcade"]

[Text] Those who have had to be at the bus station or the airport waiting for their scheduled time, or those living through the commute home, know it to be a wearisome occupation. When the flight is delayed and the crowd starts growing several times larger than that foreseen by the design for the premises, there is literally nowhere to squeeze through. Some are fortunate enough in the crowd of a station to be able to enjoy Shakespeare's sonnets, if they are at hand, or even the newspapers.

But the times are changing. And the spirit of the outside world touched the citizens' natural gathering places: here and there video games were established. Immediately it was more fun to wait. If you have a sure hand, it is possible to play "Sea Combat" for 15 kopeks and torpedo an enemy gunboat. If you have not managed it in two minutes, then put in another 15-kopek piece if you please. If you suffer from sea sickness and it is affecting you or your spirit simply hungers for more peaceful entertainments, then "Horse Races" and "Auto-rally" are at your service. They have come up with the "Autoscreen" game for fans of more defensive excitement. If you win you can snag a prize. A package of chewing gum for example. Or some other type of idiocy. A trifle surely, but pleasant.

This means of satisfying the emotional needs of people is mindless and of course not spiritual. No one is imposed on, none are troubled and the state gets a profit.

The games in the bus station of the glorious city of Schekino in the Tula oblast were the first to amuse passengers in the Nechernozem. Interest in the novelties flared up and was not extinguished. Lines of people eager to part with some of their hard earned wages were constantly forming at the games. Those with no change were eagerly served by the change desk located right there.



Some men would approach the gaming machines. Pressing through the line they would open the metal housings with keys and withdraw the coin boxes, officially known as the coin receptacles.

"Collectors," the understanding passengers exchanged glances.

If only it were true! Actually they were genuine malefactors from whose capable hands more than a few coins had already fallen into bank deposit boxes.

Even more mysterious than these circumstances was the deathly silence of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture "Rosattraksion" production association and its Moscow directorate, into whose sphere of influence the gaming machines belonging to the capital oblast entered. They did not ask the criminal investigation department and the OBKhSS for help as to who, they say, is robbing the machines and collecting the receipts. They paid no attention to fire prevention. Let the financial plan burn, they say!

And all because the plan was not thinking to burn but, on the contrary, was constantly being fulfilled and even exceeded. The management received its regular bonus for this.

Yes, the money grubbers of the prize winning harvest were careful not to kill the golden goose which maintained their financial prosperity. A brilliant knowledge of their business and the entertainment situation aided them, which is no wonder. They all worked in the Moscow directorate of which the section head is Faiz Gilmanov, the senior technician is Yevgeniy Morozov, the engineer is Victor Lifanov and the technician is Valeriy Solovov. They attributed the indisputable plan fulfillment mostly to their activity, like all conscientious workers. Only the money from the machines which was over the established norm should belong to them, as a material incentive. Thus they decided and did.

The actual methods of extracting the money do not interest the general readership. It is enough to say that every machine has a coin counter which the first class specialists stopped with a contrived and artfully technical dirty trick: either they slowed the speed of the counter or in general turned it backwards. Normal procedure included false seals and their own coin box duplicates. (However, for "videocrats" - we will call them thus - these are all open secrets: similar criminal cases are being investigated in Gorkiy and Kalinin).

Having tested their system on the first project they automatically transferred the "Schekino method" to Tula, Riazan, Orel and even to the capital Domodedovo airport. To all places where, without exception, it was considered economically expedient to install gaming machines.

By the way, concerning economic expediency: soon after the criminal case started I called on the UVD air transport investigation department head, police lieutenant-colonel R. Volchok, whose ascetic, modest office I have long known. It was reminiscent of a booth in a second hand store. There were a Japanese Sharp color television, Panasonic and National video tape decks and a Siemens electronic percussion instrument --all coming to tens of thousands

of rubles. The lieutenant colonel could not deny himself the satisfaction of demonstrating Gilmanov's Mercedes 250. They do not confiscate such a trinket from defendants every day. (We will note that he did have a Zhiguli, like everybody else, and Morozov had a pair).

Already there was nowhere for them to put the money. Besides which, at an odd moment Gilmanov got the idea to loan 25 thousand rubles to a married couple he knew and Lifanov, for example, even left eight thousand in an acoustic column. The surfeit reached such a degree that Morozov got too lazy to replace the change for paper money. A friend asked for a loan of 1500 and got it... all in 15-kopek coins. Ten thousand people had to play "Sea Combat" or the video horse races for that.

That is enough of negative emotions. We will try to draw a moral even from a criminal situation.

It should not be thought that the participants of the criminal group collected a tribute from the machines and then held orgies. Nothing of the sort! Their enterprise was ideally organized.

In the first place people of no initiative or parasites or, heaven forbid, drunkards were ruthlessly fired from this company. You had to support the operation of each gaming machine for more than the one shift recommended by the manufacturer. That would barely fulfill plan. They set themselves a large scale goal and made it: the game machines were to run for two or, if possible, three shifts! They had to strive for the people to work like the game machines. When a part failed they wrote no forms to management: repair, they said! That would take weeks. The information arrived without delay and immediately a person got to his car and sped off. To Tula, say, Riazan or Orel. The supply of spare parts was always sorted and inventoried, the business ties with associated people were carried to perfection.

The change cashiers constituted a special problem. The companions officially paid the overtime from their own pockets. Besides which, they hired "their own" private workers for the operation. They made a place for close relatives in this business, and not just to give them some easy money. Spend a day - get thirty rubles for it. No cigarette breaks, no 90-minute lunches. A thermos of tea and sandwiches - then you can snatch a bite without leaving the game machines. Anybody who wants to play has to get their change immediately.

The additional expenses for private cashiers and spare parts purchases in no way decreased the profit. On the contrary, it increased due to the constant operation of the game machines.

The members of the group did not slacken their attitude towards the operation either. The Domodedov cashier would call, for example, that there was no more change. They would get him a day's supply within two hours.

Because of this stake in the final result there were no references to objective difficulties. All problems were solved right then, overcoming the most terrible bureaucratic obstacles and interdepartmental barriers.

"The opening of the next project is being delayed," Gilmanov declared to his companions one day, "I will spend ten thousand on this. All agreed?"

There were no dissenting voices. Anyhow, there are unforeseen expenses in any business. All the profits for the first months simply went to the chief in order to compensate for the outlays. Then everything took its normal course again: each got his share. They continued to observe this rule of internal order when Gilmanov left, possessed with new ideas. In order not to be counted among idlers, he formally took a position as literary secretary(!) to one of the writers who could care less that his hireling had an incomplete technical education. The "secretary" did not leave the "business". He got his part of the receipts punctually. It was exactly like a joint stock company.

Nonetheless I dare to recommend this organization to "Rosattraksion" for the most thorough study of the exploitation process. I would not allow valuable undertakings of smart dealers to perish in the court archives. In fact they took an idea, on their own initiative and from mercenary considerations, to such a point where the authorities were obliged to prosecute them in the interests of each of us and of the state as a whole. Now is not too late. If only on the projects which were still left after the prompt liquidation of those run by the criminal group. Already Orel, Riazan, Tula and the Domodedov airport do not have game machines. They have yielded colossal profits over plan to these disrupted and, no quotation marks, businesslike people. But not very businesslike, they are from "Rosattraksion." "There is not time to mess with them." Tormenting questions arose. How to guarantee the inviolability of the internal world of the cash box and where to find honest people?

I attempted to obtain answers to these questions from that same police lieutenant colonel R. Volchok, who by the will of fate has become not only a major specialist in exposing entertainment abuses but is also an arcade expert.

"First of all," he said, "the game machines themselves need to be technically improved. Their counters and cash boxes. There are many honorable people, but their honor should not be subjected to constant temptation. Considering the ease and accessibility of extracting earnings above plan it is namely the lowered plan for game machines that entices unsteady workers. I know of one brigade that took on the service contract for some game machines in a movie theater lobby. A movie theater, mind, and not an airport with its round-the-clock crowd. They have a significantly higher plan but are paid ten percent of any over-plan profit. Give people an incentive and fine earnings and, believe me, they will not start risking freedom."

Usually Volchok knows what he's talking about...

The other day I was at court for the reading of the sentence in the "videocrats" case. The tall and intelligent Gilmanov stood with wise eyes behind the barrier tensely listening to the dry words of the judge. In support, with an almost familial similarity, was Lifanov. Solovyov was stiff, supporting a listening device with his hand. Morozov nervously fidgeted with some leaflets.

They had played out.

READER COMPLAINS OF BEING PUNISHED FOR GLASNOST, PAPER RESPONDS

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Mar 87 p 2

[Letter from V. Dudinets, pensioner, followed by commentary by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent A. Bondarchuk: "Punishment for Criticism"]

[Text] Frank Talk About A Sore Subject

Two years ago, PRAVDA UKRAINY received an anonymous letter about group drinking sprees at the Kovel' joint forestry establishment. I am ashamed, but admit that I wrote the anonymous letter. A verification check on the letter was conducted as a formality. As it turned out, I resigned myself to everything, decided to keep silent and live quietly on my pension. But I cannot.

A reform movement is underway in the country, gathering forces of glasnost and democracy. It grieves me to see how some communists are reforming themselves only for outward show. In the forestry establishment, for example, no educational work is being conducted and no training has been organized. Party meetings occur haphazardly and the secretary of the party organization, P. P. Smal, shows no initiative. I came forward at a meeting with a criticism and the representative of the party gorkom, V. S. Shishuk, said he would report to the meeting in a month on the results of an investigation. But everything remained as it was. The director of the forestry establishment, V. P. Polukhtovich, acts like he's on his own private estate here.

At the forestry establishment, they guessed that I had written to the editorial staff. After this, their attitude toward me changed abruptly. They stopped inviting me to party meetings even though I called from home myself to remind them.

It's true that, at one time in 1983, I was punished for alcohol abuse -- a severe reprimand was entered on my membership card. I accepted the punishment as proper, but just why was I excommunicated from party organization life? Has my help and advice really turned out to be useless?

I am sending this without reading it over so I won't change my mind. I would simply like to share my thoughts with someone and get things off my chest. --  
V. Dudinyets, pensioner.



#### Our Correspondent's Commentary:

One acknowledgment is already noteworthy: "I wrote the anonymous letter". The restructuring movement, which carries a powerful emotional energy and enthusiasm, prompted a man to this acknowledgment and to a reconsideration of his position and his sense of duty. They did not take notice of this at the forestry establishment.

When I visited there, the reasons for the "alienation" of this communist, who was on the register of the organization for 3 years in all, became clear. He came here with a severe reprimand and worked as a supply agent. He did not distinguish himself through exceptional zeal and once was close to being dismissed. They accepted him and gave him a good reference to get rid of the reprimand. As soon as the reprimand was removed, he retired and, he says, began to search for the truth.

This is partly true. During his time as a representative of a kolkhoz and later as representative of a raykom trade union, V. I. Dudinyets was not perfect either. He was demoted and punished, as we see, according to party procedures. And now he is demanding punishment for those who also committed some misdemeanor and were punished at the same time as he was or earlier. People notice such inconsistency and twisted thinking.

But at the same time, the writer is absolutely correct when he writes about the reaction to his criticism. No form of suppression of criticism is permitted in the party. We must realize the significance of leaving an equal member of the party by the wayside simply because he is a pensioner. After all, Dudinyets is even a member of the party buro.

Just how did it happen that, not only is he not invited to the party meetings, they don't invite him to the buro sessions. And they also forgot about another party buro member -- V. I. Brovchenko, who already quit and is working at a meat packing plant. I asked him to compare the party organizations of these enterprises. He noted that, "at the forestry establishment they do not like criticism and do not support it. But here, the director encourages critical comments."

The minutes of the meetings of the forestry establishment communists confirm that this is so. It is not easy to find a word of criticism in the reports and statements. If there is one, it is either not attributed or is laid on someone who has already quit. The points of resolutions consist of general phrases and cannot be checked. Although there are more than a few other problems there, almost nothing except production questions are brought up for discussion. It is mainly the director who addresses the meetings. There are plenty of numbers in his reports but obviously not enough analysis of affairs. Yet this is sorely needed, even for a model enterprise, which the forestry establishment is considered to be.

-- A. Bondarchuk, Kovel, Volyn Oblast.

13254  
CSO: 1600/484

TASS REPORTS ON SOBRIETY CAMPAIGN IN FAR EAST

LD061040 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0540 GMT 6 May 87

["Campaign for Sobriety in the Soviet Far East"--TASS headline]

[Text] Nakhodka, 6 May (TASS)--TASS correspondent Leonid Vinogradov writes: The letters bodies of Soviet power receive from the population can be regarded as a barometer of the attitude toward the problem of drunkenness and alcoholism. The town soviet of people's deputies in the port town of Nakhodka in the Far East has been receiving them continuously for 2 years now. The overwhelming majority of the authors of these letters approve of the restrictions that have been introduced here--as everywhere else in the country--on state trade in alcoholic beverages. Some even favor a complete ban on their sales.

Alcohol sales have been banned in the town, taking the population's wishes into account, in the areas of children's establishments, educational establishments, industrial enterprises, and leisure centers. The time during which the few shops where wine and vodka are allowed to be sold are open is confined to a few hours a day. Not everyone in Nakhodka is pleased with this sales system. The majority, however, favor these restrictions, the more so because their results are already completely tangible.

In comparison with past years, for instance, the number of crimes and road accidents here has declined by a quarter. Whereas previously the town hospital's traumatological department barely coped with treating the constant stream of people with injuries received while drunk, cases of this kind are now rare. The statistics for all the Maritime Kray (Vladivostok is its center) speak for themselves. Alcohol consumption declined by a third here over the past 2 years. The number of law violations outside workplaces has likewise declined by a third. Losses in working time have declined by the same amount.

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CSO: 1830/497

## SHARP INCREASE IN MOONSHINE REPORTED IN UKRAINE

### Moonshine in Chernigov Oblast Described

AU280732 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 17 Apr 87 p 4

[Report by I. Glanko, PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent in Chernigov Oblast: "But Moonshining Is on the Increase Both in City and Countryside"]

[Excerpts] In Chernigov Oblast--or more precisely, in Rapkinskiy Rayon--there is a village called Novaya Budnya. Some time ago, the inhabitants proclaimed the village alcohol-free territory. Quite recently, an inspection team from the rayon center dropped in to have a look at the sober life the local people were living. What the controllers found was something else--"infernal machines" which, before their very eyes, ran sugar into a brew, and the brew into a full-proof moonshine.

You would not guess who proved to be the owner of the homemade miracle-working machines. He was M.M. Sodyl, communist field cropping team leader affiliated with the local basic organization of the Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety, and in addition, deputy to the Nedanchinskiy village soviet. Believe it or not, on this "teetotaler's" premises the controllers found 80 liters of moonshine brew and 17 liters of 45-proof first-run moonshine [pervak].

But a peculiar record in accumulating various types of equipment for raw moonshine distilling, barrels with brew, and large bottles with moonshine was set up by M.M. Sodyl's neighbors: M.F. Bilenok, forester and, by the way, member of the sobriety society and communist, too; Ye. M. Yashchenko, workers at the local Kotsyubinskiy sovkhos; and P.V. Dekhtyarenko, pensioner. On the day of the inspection, it was found that the aforesaid persons had hidden in various places, all in all, 240 (!) liters of semifinished moonshine and 3 sizable bottles of beverage ready for consumption.

If you like, I could tell you about one more case, which has already been examined by the Repki people's court. The person involved was a woman pensioner M.M. Yevtushenko, who, in addition to running moonshine, also supplied the builders of the city of Slavutich with her product in their floating township, "Yakor." How many trips she made from Kotsyubinskiy sovkhos to

"Yakor" no one knows. But one time the woman moonshiner and profiteer had bad luck: militiamen caught her red-handed. The punishment prescribed by the people's court was a R500 fine. Was it not too mild?

One could cite many such cases of moonshiners and moonshine dealers being exposed. Suffice it to say that, from January to March of the current year alone, in Chernigov Oblast 970 sources of moonshining were discovered, 2,500 sets of moonshining equipment were seized or voluntarily surrendered, and criminal or administrative proceedings were taken against 900 persons.

#### MVD Minister Interviewed

AU280901 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Apr 87 p 2

["Interview with I.D. Gladush, Ukrainian minister of internal affairs by V. Nikipelov: "Restraining the Moonshiner"--place, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Nikipelov] The increased production of moonshine is worrying the public: We all, of course, would like to know what the present situation is.

[Gladush] As has been said, sources of moonshining have moved from the countryside to urban districts. This year alone, the number of cases of moonshining revealed in the republic's cities increased 90 percent, the oblast centers accounting for every tenth one.

Moonshining has been most widespread in Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Zhitomir, Vinnitsa, Kirovograd, Voroshilovgrad, Rovno, and Kiev Oblasts.

Due to the fact that raw materials are easily obtainable and cheap, and that distilling moonshine is simple, many smart dealers have found a new opportunity to acquire unearned income. Here are a few examples. During the search of the premises of A. Babinets, crane operator at the Chernigov Oblast Agricultural Construction trust, who distilled the intoxicating beverage and sold it for R15 a liter around the railroad station in Chernigov, militiamen seized a moonshining device, 75 liters of moonshine, and savings books with a total of R40,000.

Let me add that today's moonshiner has carefully perfected the methods of distilling moonshine, and camouflaged them. A lot of the moonshining devices have been made with the aid of the latest equipment and machine tools at production enterprises, and are remarkable for their compactness. Materials in short supply and various parts of household devices are also being used to make them. Can this practice go completely unnoticed by people?

The "profile" of today's moonshiner also gives one food for thought. More than 70 percent of such selfmade tavern-keepers are women. Pensioners and housewives make up 40 percent of masters in moonshining, workers and office workers account for 35 percent of moonshine distillers, kolkhoz peasants



18 percent, and people not engaged in any socially useful work, 7.5 percent. And 94 percent of all tavern-keepers are over 30 years of age. As you can see, these people are mature and perfectly aware of their pernicious activity.

[Nikipelov] Naturally enough, this evil is a long way from affecting only individual people. How does it affect us all?

[Gladush] It is superfluous to repeat how harmful moonshine, with its fusel oils and other components, is to human health. I could cite here a number of cases of group poisoning with various kinds of alcohol substitutes. I could give figures about casualties. And one must not forget either the fact that moonshine converts people into chronic alcoholics more rapidly.

And consider the national economic damage: thousands of tons of sugar, potatoes, grain, and beets are converted into an intoxicant. The fact that in the current year sales of sugar to the population have risen by 28 percent gives us food for serious thought. In Vinnitsa Oblast, for example, they have increased by more than 58 percent, in Kirovograd Oblast, by 54 percent, and in Cherkassy Oblast, by 41 percent. At the same time the sales of liquors and vodka in these oblasts has declined by more than one-third.

[Nikipelov] Maybe it would be advisable to stiffen punishments for moonshining?

[Gladush] In my opinion, current legislation is sufficiently stringent. It is only necessary to comply with it absolutely without any liberalism and observing all precepts of socialist legality. And this is the point we emphasize to our officials literally at every step.

On the other hand, the problem has to be dealt with more flexibly and boldly. Why should we not, say, significantly increase purchases of surplus sugar received by workers and kolkhoz peasants for sugar beet growing and processing, why should we not offer them in exchange grain, feed, and building materials that are in short supply.

The society for the struggle for sobriety should regard educational work among the younger generation, including children of preschool age, as its main area of activity, should inculcate in them from childhood the conviction that alcohol is dangerous, harmful, and useless.

Or, let us say, it is worth considering another punishment for moonshining and applying it in individual cases: instead of fines, which, as a rule, affect the budget of the entire family, labor at projects and continuous production enterprises on days off and on holidays.

In the struggle against this pernicious evil, we all lack a sense of purpose, engagement at full capacity, initiative, and a creative, thoughtful attitude. We workers of internal affairs organs will dedicate all our professional knowledge to settling the problem. But, I repeat, this may prove to be insufficient. Real success can only be achieved by joint efforts.

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CSO: 1830/500

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY ON DRUG USE IN GEORGIA SUMMARIZED

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 Feb 87 p 4

[Article by Anzor Gabiani, head of the Research Laboratory for Criminal Sociology under the GSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, doctor of philosophical sciences and professor, under the rubric "The Order Around Us": "'White Death' In the Mirror of Sociology"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Until recently it was quite common to think and say that, in comparison to drunkenness, alcoholism and other forms of deviant behavior, drug addiction in our country was supposedly not prevalent to any significant extent. The atmosphere created by this sort of complacency gave rise to a situation in which we failed to see the approaching danger of spontaneous increase in the use of narcotic substances.

However, it should be noted that attitudes toward the problem of drug addiction varied in various regions of our country. Specifically, in some republics certain effective measures were taken from time to time to step up the struggle against drug addiction. Among such areas was Georgia, where almost two decades ago a real look was taken at the problem of drug addiction and steps taken to step up the struggle against this ill. In particular we should note that attempts were being made to give these measures a scientific basis as early as the mid-1960's.

Specifically, in 1967 the Central Committee of the Georgian Komsomol and the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs, after joint discussion of the need to intensify efforts to prevent the spread of the use of narcotic substances, established an interdepartmental commission to study the extent of drug addiction in Georgia and to draw up a strategy and tactics to combat the problem. Attached to this commission, a working group was established on a public basis; this group tackled the problem of how to conduct applied sociological research on drug use in our republic.

On account of the fact that at that time there was no prior experience with the conducting of applied sociological research on drug use in Soviet applied sociology, we gathered the information required for the compilation of questionnaires by using methods of participant [uchastvuyushchiy i vklyuchenny] observation. It should be noted that we continued to make broad use of these methods over the course of the entire study and thus obtained

extremely valuable information for use in scientific analysis of groups of drug users and producers.

We compiled two mutually comparable questionnaires, each of which contained over 100 questions. One questionnaire was designed for drug addicts who had committed crimes and served time in prison, and the other was designed for drug addicts without criminal records.

Ten years after the completion of the first study we conducted a second applied sociological study of drug use, this time utilizing the Research Laboratory for Criminal Sociology under the GSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Using the same program and tools, in 1984-85 drug addicts and drug users in our republic were again surveyed; one-third of those surveyed were in correctional institutions serving time for various crimes. In this article we will presently only a few of the results of this third applied sociological study of drug use in our republic.

According to gender, those surveyed were divided as follows: 8.3 percent were female, and 91.7 percent were male. Information concerning the ages of those surveyed proved to be of interest. Those under the age of 16 accounted for only .2 percent. The 16-19 age group accounted for 4.3 percent, the 20-24 age group for 27 percent, the 25-29 age group for 33.5 percent, the 30-34 age group for 21 percent, the 35-39 age group for 8.6 percent, the 40-44 age group for two percent, and those aged 45 and older for 2.9 percent. Thus, of those drug addicts and drug users surveyed the overwhelming majority -- 86.4 percent -- were under the age of 35, a majority -- 65.4 percent -- were younger than 30, and almost one-third were younger than 25.

Of those surveyed, 38 percent were permanent residents of Tbilisi; 49 percent lived in other cities in our republic, 4.3 percent lived in villages, four percent lived outside the GSSR, and .6 percent had no permanent place of residence. From this we may conclude that drug use today remains an urban social problem in our republic, and that it is closely linked to urbanization. This, it is true, does not mean that the problem of drug use does not affect the rural population. On the contrary, according to our data, over the past 10 years the geography of drug use has expanded, and drugs have even penetrated some remote rural regions.

Also of interest was the educational level of those surveyed. A total of 2.7 percent had only elementary education, 12.5 percent had incomplete secondary education, 66.6 percent had secondary education, 9.3 percent had incomplete higher education, 7.3 percent had higher education and one percent gave no reply. Thus, an overwhelming majority of those surveyed -- 83.7 percent -- had secondary, incomplete higher or higher education. From this we may conclude that at the present time use of narcotic substances is prevalent mainly among individuals with a fairly high level of education.

Among those surveyed there was a very high percentage of individuals with prior criminal convictions, a total of 46 percent. Almost one-half of those with prior convictions were convicted of crimes connected with drug addiction, and one in four had been convicted of the illegal manufacture, acquisition, storage, transport or shipment of narcotic substances for purposes other than

resale. We studied a rather broad range of questions concerning the living conditions and upbringing of the drug addicts and drug users surveyed. It turned out that the mothers of 15.5 percent of them were deceased, and that 35.2 percent had lost their fathers, and almost one-half of them had lost one or more parent 10 or more years ago.

A total of 19 percent of drug addicts have a lower than average or substantially lower than average per capita income in their families, 10.5 percent come from homes with average income, 61.6 percent came from homes with higher than average or substantially higher than average income, and eight percent did not respond to the question. Here it should be noted that a certain percentage of the parents and other family members of those surveyed, judging by information gathered in personal interviews, had unearned income in addition to their regular incomes, and sometimes in substantial amounts.

A considerable portion of those surveyed had a completely happy family life, at least according to formal indices. All those surveyed were asked to evaluate relations between members of their families. It is interesting to note that 45 percent of them evaluated those relations as good, 33.1 percent considered them satisfactory, 15.2 evaluated them as strained, and 6.6 percent did not respond to the question. In addition, 9.8 percent indicated that someone in their families abused alcohol, and 7.2 percent noted that there was use of narcotic substances in their homes. Among intemperately drinking family members, 78.5 percent listed their fathers, and 77.8 percent listed brothers as the ones in their families using drugs. Thus, one family in six of the individuals surveyed is unhappy in the sense that family members either abuse alcohol or use drugs. A total of 72.6 percent listed parents as being ill, and 11.3 percent listed sisters in this category.

It is well known that under present-day conditions a large role in the formation of the personality is played, in addition to the family, by educational institutions, and therefore those surveyed were asked questions concerning their studies. It turned out that at the time of the survey 9.6 percent of them were currently studying, 88.3 percent had studied in the past and 2.1 percent did not respond to the question.

Also, in their own words, 76.6 percent of those surveyed had good study conditions, 21 percent did not, and 2.4 percent did not respond to the question. As for academic success, 15.8 percent of those surveyed received good grades, 66.1 percent -- satisfactory, 17.6 percent -- poor, and .5 percent did not respond to the question. Thus, a majority of those surveyed had normal study conditions and studied either well or satisfactorily. Furthermore, a certain percentage of them -- eight percent -- had participated in the social affairs of their educational institution's collective.

We were also interested by the question concerning the occupations of those surveyed. Drug addicts serving time in prison answered this and similar question with reference to the period of time directly prior to their apprehension for the commission of a crime. It turned out that a total of 61.7 percent of them were employed, 5.2 percent were students, 24.8 percent neither worked nor studied, i.e. had been parasites, and 2.5 percent did not respond to the question. It is interesting to note that the percentage of



parasites was considerably higher among those surveyed at correctional institutions, as high as 45.8 percent.

Here we should note that, although some drug addicts and drug users perform various jobs and are employed in various fields, even including education, science and health care, in the overwhelming majority of cases they are poor workers, handle their jobs poorly, have slipshod attitudes toward their work, etc. Furthermore, chronic drug addicts at a certain stage of physical, intellectual and social degradation, even if they should desire to, are incapable of performing jobs requiring a certain degree of concentrated effort.

We also studied a fairly broad circle of questions pertaining to the use of alcoholic beverages and narcotic substances by those surveyed. It turned out that of those surveyed 72 percent used alcohol, and 28 percent did not. Such a high percentage of "teetotalers" among those surveyed can be explained by the fact that many chronic drug addicts, especially opium addicts, cannot tolerate alcoholic beverages or else tolerate them poorly. Furthermore, as a rule drug users are indifferent to alcohol and always prefer narcotics to alcoholic beverages.

We studied in the most detailed fashion questions pertaining to the preferred drugs of those surveyed.

It became clear that the most widely used narcotic substance in our republic is hashish ("plan"), followed by narcotic substances in the opium group. Of interest were subjects' replies to the question of how often they used narcotic substances. It turned out that of those surveyed 26.5 percent used drugs three or more times per day, 19.4 percent did so twice a day, and 21.2 percent used drugs once a day. Those with experience with drugs of one year or less totalled 9.8 percent, two years -- 12.2 percent, three years -- 13.2 percent, four years -- 15.7 percent, between five and 10 years -- 28 percent, 10 years or more -- 17.6 percent. Consequently, roughly one-half -- 45.6 percent -- had taken drugs for five years or more, and 74.5 percent, or three-quarters of those surveyed, had done so for three years or more.

Those surveyed were asked whether they had begun to use drugs under the influence of other individuals. A total of 77.1 percent of those surveyed responded affirmatively to this question. These "other individuals" were fellow workers, friends, acquaintances, neighbors, classmates, military buddies, fellow students, brothers... Influence was primarily expressed by words and actions intended to arouse interest in drugs; by attempts to convince or ridicule and, in the event of a refusal, even by a definite sort of psychological violence.

From the above we can conclude that in a certain sense drug addicts are carriers of the "germ" of drug addiction. Inherent in them is a kind of egoism which is expressed by the fact that they attempt to induce those around them to use drugs. Furthermore, the primary victims of the pernicious influence of drug addicts are friends, fellow workers, acquaintances, neighbors and, in rare cases, family members, military buddies, etc. At times drug addicts show a high level of inventiveness in their attempts to induce

those around them to use drugs, and therein lies the considerable danger which they present to those around them. We had the opportunity to observe all of this first-hand during many years of direct contact with groups of drug addicts and drug users.

Our data indicate that drug use is often a group activity, and in many cases individuals in whose presence drug addicts freely use drugs without fear or pangs of conscience do not themselves use narcotic substances. In other words, in a certain milieu of young people drug use does not result in censure. Sometimes, on the contrary, such a milieu takes a completely tolerant and understanding attitude toward drugs. Furthermore, among a certain segment of hedonistically inclined young people drug use, primarily the smoking of hashish ("plan"), is considered prestigious and fashionable. Naturally such sentiments create, over the long term, a great danger of a rapid increase in drug use. For it is quite obvious that young people who have a tolerant attitude toward drug use are likely "candidates" for becoming drug addicts.

Over two-thirds of those surveyed were prompted to experiment with drugs by hedonistic desires, aware of the fact that narcotics create a feeling of euphoria; one-fourth of those surveyed began to take drugs to imitate others, considering it prestigious to do so. As for individuals who used drugs to forget after some psychological trauma or who were attracted to drugs on account of their dissatisfaction with life, they made up only a small percentage of those surveyed. These data refute the opinion, still prevalent among people uninformed about drug use, that the people who turn to drugs are primarily individuals who have in some way suffered, experienced a personal tragedy, etc., and who are searching for mental equilibrium, comfort or forgetfulness; however, we cannot deny that these motivations can also play a certain role.

Let us examine in brief by what means those surveyed obtain drugs, and what it costs them.

It turned out that of those surveyed 16.7 percent obtained drugs from pharmacy employees, 15.1 percent obtained them from other medical personnel, 39.6 percent from friends, 53.1 percent from fellow workers, 70.2 percent from dealers, and 4.5 percent from relatives. Of those surveyed, 14.4 percent manufactured drugs themselves. Naturally, narcotic substances must be paid for, often with large sums. It is true that if drugs are given to someone by fellow workers, friends and relatives, this is sometimes done without desire for profit, in the form of treats or assistance, but as a rule such favors are of a two-way nature. Even the manufacture of narcotics entails considerable expense, since it is necessary to buy raw materials or travel to those places where there exist wild stands of narcotic-yielding plants, and so on. Furthermore, even those quantities of drugs which some individuals receive as gifts are bought on the "black market" or obtained by some other criminal means. Thus, the bulk of narcotic substances are obtained by drug addicts from drug dealers or from employees of various types of medical institutions. Here we should add the caveat that, according to our calculations, under conditions of strict accounting and monitoring of the dispensing of narcotic pharmaceuticals it does not appear possible in the GSSR at the present time to

arrange substantial surpluses of such medicines for the purpose of resale. Nevertheless, there have been some cases of corrupt health care personnel attempting to make a profit in this manner. Thus, while not overlooking the significance of further tightening monitoring of compliance with rules in this republic governing the recording, storage and dispensing of narcotic pharmaceuticals, we feel that primary emphasis should be placed on the struggle against the underground trade in drugs imported by criminal elements from other union republics, since it is these elements which call the tune on the "black market" and, profiting from others' misery, receive huge profits. Thus, the subjects of this survey alone had spent considerable sums to acquire drugs: 35.9 percent of those surveyed spent over 500 rubles per month for drugs, and 44.1 percent spend over 300 rubles per month. Of course, the majority of drug users can obtain this kind of sums only by criminal means.

In conclusion we should note that in this article, on account of space limitations, we have not given a complete summary of the negative social and economic consequences caused by the spread of drug use, but the above will suffice to convince one of the need for immediate implementation of the most decisive measures to combat this socially dangerous phenomenon. It seems to us that in order to define strategy and tactics in the struggle against drug use on a nationwide level we must first of all conduct large-scale applied sociological studies in all regions of the USSR, all the more so since we already possess a certain amount of experience in this regard.

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BELORUSSIAN SOCIAL SCIENTISTS ON NEEDED EDUCATION IMPROVEMENTS

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 29 Jan 87 p 3

[Report of the Belorussian Telegraph Agency: "The Social Order of the Restructuring: The Republic Conference of Social Scientists"]

[Excerpts] The tasks of the social scientists of the republic emanating from the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the results of the All-Union Conference of the Heads of Departments of Social Science were discussed at the republic conference of social scientists that took place on 27 January in Minsk. Leading scientists and university teachers took part in its work. N. M. Meshkov, BeSSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education, gave a report.

In the report and in the speeches of the participants of the conference it was noted that in the republic work is being done in regard to the expansion of the forms of socialist democracy [narodovlastiye] and the strict observance of the norms and principles of social justice. Much is being done for the enrichment of spiritual life, patriotic and international education, and the improvement of socialist social relations. The social scientists of the republic also made a contribution to this cause. The collectives of a number of departments and scientific subdivisions attained good results in research on the problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and the history and practice of socialist construction. In 1986, six republic integrated scientific research programs for the social sciences were formed.

However, there is no reason to rest on our laurels. On the whole, the level of the work of the social scientists does not meet the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress, the subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," and the directions contained in the speech of M. S. Gorbachev at the All-Union Conference of the Heads of Departments of Social Science.

With concern the speakers talked about the fact that every year many publications appear which are far removed from life and the needs of society. The dialectics of the processes taking place and the contradictions and difficulties of the struggle of the new with the old are discussed in passing, without the requisite analysis of the causal and investigatory relations. One also encounters in them verbal jabber, deviation from the historical truth, the smoothing over of sharp corners, and subjectivist assessments.



In the studies published on the basis of the social sciences, there is also such an extremely characteristic and essential shortcoming as the stereotype of extreme optimism in the analysis of the processes of social life. This has led to the fact that some social scientists perceive their basic task in the unthinking eulogy of our achievements. The passivity of the social scientists cannot satisfy in the elaboration of the problems that are arising and in the analysis of the changes that have become ripe in society. What is lacking is the well-grounded prognoses and constructive recommendations that are so necessary for practice.

It is important to be constantly concerned about the conversion of the knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory into firm convictions and practical actions of the students. An analysis of the data of the state examinations in scientific communism in the Gomel Polytechnical Institute, the Belorussian Institute of National Economy, and the Mogilev Machine Building Institute showed that a third of the students receive satisfactory marks, have a poor understanding of the basic questions of Marxist-Leninist theory, and do not know how to apply the knowledge they have received with respect to the social sciences in the analysis of the concrete phenomena of social reality.

Creative initiative and independence are lacking in the departments of political economy of the Belorussian State University, the Department of Philosophy of the Belorussian Agricultural Academy, the Department of Philosophy and Political Economy of the Mogilev Technological Institute, and the Department of the History of the CPSU and Scientific Communism of the Belorussian Institute of Railway Transportation Engineers.

The collective of the Department of Political Economy of the Belorussian Institute for the Mechanization of Agriculture is demonstrating examples of a formal attitude to the cause and to the problems of the restructuring. Behind the overall successful and sufficiently high indicators of the advancement of the students, serious shortcomings are concealed. In teaching, no use is being made of active forms of instruction, there is a lack of mutual control of the lectures and seminars. An atmosphere of mutual praise is flourishing and the ability of a critical assessment of the final results of their activity has been lost.

The scientific work of many departments is suffering from fruitlessness, including the Department of Marxism-Leninism of the Belorussian State Theater and Arts Institute, the Department of Philosophy and Political Economy of the Gomel Polytechnical Institute, the Department of History and Political Economy of the Novopolotsk Polytechnical Institute, the Department of the History of the CPSU and Scientific Communism of the Mozyr Pedagogical Institute, and the Grodno Agricultural Institute. At times the teachers, year after year, plan after plan, transfer the elaboration of one and the same problem and do not move one step forward. A striking example of such an approach is the writing of "Essays on the History of the Oblast Organizations of the Communist Party of Belorussia," on which the historians of all the regions of the republic have been working without the proper effectiveness for a decade.

In talking about the problems of educational work, the participants of the conference emphasized that help must be given to the VUZ Komsomol in mastering the

skills of self-management and in expanding the influence of the students on the academic and educational process, the organization of everyday life and the leisure of the students.

According to the declaration of those who spoke up, the people who should educate the students at times have a poor knowledge of their needs and interests. And this at the very time when 20 departments of VUZ's and the Institute for Raising the Qualifications of Social Science Teachers at the Belorussian State University are concerned to one degree or another with the problems of the communist education of students.

It was emphasized: In the course of the educational process and in extramural educational work, it is important to skillfully propagate the advantages of our way of life, to strive to develop in a comprehensive manner the personality of the future specialist, and to form in him a high spiritual culture. The real duty of social scientists is to assist the spiritual-moral formation of young people.

Here a great deal depends on the personality of the teacher, his political and life experience, and his social activeness. A high degree of professional training, conviction in the rightness of Marxist-Leninist theory, and an active ideological and moral position of the teacher are decisive in the undertaking of the education of the young people in universities and schools. This places special responsibility on the party committees which are conducting the selection, placing and training of scientific and pedagogical social science personnel. The practice of conducting seminars for social scientists and certifications of departments of social science being held annually deserve dissemination.

However, these are only first steps in the work with the VUZ social scientists. Jointly with the BeSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the party committees will have to develop precise criteria for the assessment of the activity of teachers--the assessment of their intellect and talent, diligence and creative output.

The participants of the conference called attention to the aging of the social science cadres. This is characteristic for the Department of the History of the CPSU of the Belorussian Polytechnical Institute and the Belorussian Institute for the National Economy. In the Belorussian Institute of Railway Transportation Engineers, 40.7 percent of all social science teachers are over 60 years old.

Also discussed were the chronic shortage of highly-skilled specialists in the oblast centers, the lack of an influx of talented young people into their ranks, and the loss of qualifications on the part of a significant number of teachers, who have stopped their scientific research work and have turned into "tutors" [urokodateli]. For many of them, scientific research was limited to dissertation work. This category of VUZ social scientists constitutes about 10 percent.

The republic faces a bad situation with respect to the training of cadres with the highest qualifications--the doctors of science. The select of the

leading docents for transfer to posts of senior scientific associates for the purpose of having them complete their doctoral dissertations has been neglected. For this reason it is no accident that during the past 10 years, out of 33 persons who received a 2-year creative leave, only 7 defended a dissertation. And this at a time when only 40 departments, or 35 percent of their total number, are being headed by doctors of science and professors. And in 57 departments there are no scientific and pedagogical workers with such qualifications at all.

The shortcomings in the work with cadres are also called forth by miscalculations in the activity of post-graduate study. The executives of departments and VUZ's and the party committees, in point of fact, have kept themselves aloof from the selection of nominations for post-graduate study.

There is a lack of competition and competitiveness in the entrance examinations.

Other problems of the restructuring of the work of the social scientists of the republic were raised.

V. A. Pechennikov, secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, spoke at the conference.

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SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE DIRECTOR NOTES YOUTH CONCERNS

Baku MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA in Russian 10 Feb 87 p 2

[Interview, from the weekly newspaper ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, with V. Mansurov, deputy director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of philosophy, by N. Solganik, correspondent of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: "What Is Worrying and Troubling Young People"; date and place not specified]

[Question] Valeriy Andreyevich, quite a few good words are said in the press about our young generation. But today a great deal is also said about negative phenomena among the young people, about youth problems. Which of them, in your view, are the most acute today?

[Answer] Probably, all problems--education, work, family, and leisure.

The question of questions, which has even become the subject of an all-European symposium, is: Are young people more industrious by comparison with the preceding generations or not? We shall be frank: The level of labor activity of the young people and the people of the older generation differs significantly, and not in favor of the young people.

For the sake of fairness, it must be said that among the young generation there are enough of those who know how and want to work, but, at the same time, for some groups of young people, work has ceased to occupy first place in the system of life values. There are many explanations for this, I shall name only one of them.

Today the process of receiving an education has lengthened--it continues frequently to age 25, and even longer, if we take into account studies at the post-graduate level, and by this age the young person is still completely deprived of any habits of work whatever, deprived of the experience of interaction in a labor collective. But you see, the older a person, the more difficult it is for him to join a collective and to cultivate the same habits of work.

[Question] Valeriy Andreyevich, perhaps the not particularly high labor activity of some young people has to do with the fact that they do not have any real incentives for good work, any interest in the results of their labor?



[Answer] Really, many young people, and especially young families (89 out of every 100 young families) begin their working life in conditions that are not simple--with low wages, without prospects for advancement in their work, and, finally, without their own domicile.

As sociological research has shown, young people consider this latter problem as the most urgent for them. But, as is well known, the results of work are almost in no way connected with its solution--whether a young person works badly or whether he works well is in no way connected with the obtaining of an apartment. Meanwhile it has been calculated that, in 70 cases out of 100, young people change their place of work precisely because of their dissatisfaction with the living conditions.

[Question] But, you see, the housing problem of young people to some extent is being solved by the construction of MZhK [housing complexes for young people], which today is going on in 120 cities.

[Answer] It goes without saying, this is a fine beginning, but there is no need to overestimate it--the construction of housing complexes for young people is only a drop in the ocean, and the actual housing volume which they provide constitutes a little bit of what the young families need. And with every year these families are becoming more and more: As the last population census showed, among the young people those with families constitute 52 percent.

[Question] Once we have started to talk about young families, I cannot but give you a "tricky" question. How do you explain the fact that the number of divorces among young people is increasing?

[Answer] There are really many divorces, with 38 percent falling to the share of marriages that have existed for less than 4 years.

One of the basic reasons consists in the fact that divorce has already become an almost ordinary phenomenon. Increasingly often as of late, marriages are concluded with a deliberately precise arrangement for divorce, if even only one of the sides will not be satisfied with the joint life. Frequently inadequate knowledge in questions of sex is also one of the chief reasons. But, you see, sexology is the same science as the rest.

Our surveys show that sometimes the so-called "help" of parents interferes with the life of the young family. Among young people, it gives rise to relations of dependency.

Divorce, which is initiated by the woman, frequently arises as a result of the fact that the men, and especially the young ones, do little to help at home in the household, take a small part in the solution of family problems and in the upbringing of children.

We must correct the situation here, beginning with education in the family and in the school. Why, for example, is work to take care of the everyday needs of the family taught in school only to girls?

[Question] Valeriy Andreyevich, what is your opinion concerning the so-called

consumer psychology of a part of our young people; how widespread is this phenomenon? And a question of a more general plane--what, in your opinion, causes the skeptical attitude to our values and ideals which one so frequently encounters among the young people?

[Answer] As sociological research shows, consumer and bourgeois values are accepted by one out of five young people surveyed: Most often consumer inclinations are manifested among students.

To all appearances, this is explained by the fact that schoolboys, pupils in vocational-technical schools, and students frequently have uncomplicated ideas about life. They do not have their own experience, they have not worked up to now, but they have already grown accustomed to consuming.

You ask what calls forth the skeptical attitude of some young people to our values. I believe that up to now we have not gotten rid of the habit of depicting our reality only in empty colors, and this gap between word and deed has already become an habitual phenomenon.

Negative phenomena in the youth sphere are in many respects promoted by the formalism, bureaucracy, and the sluggishness of the Komsomol organizations, which are too little concerned with the education of the young people. And still another circumstance: Recently there has been an increase in the frequency of the misuse of their official position by persons occupying various sorts of responsible posts. Moreover, frequently these very same people, from high platforms, called upon the people, and the young people in particular, for labor exploits, for an honest life, and for selfless work. When they turn up in the dock, a crisis of confidence arises in young people, not only toward these concrete persons, but also--thanks to the maximalism inherent in young people--to the corresponding institutions which they represented.

In general, the processes and problems that arise in the youth milieu do not appear from the unknown far away--they spring up on the soil of social existence. And when we solve problems of social life of one sort or another in the sphere of economics, ideology, propaganda, and education, these processes will come to naught by themselves.

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MULTINATIONAL CITY CHARACTER CHANGING; FOCUS ON CENTRAL ASIA

Frunze KOMMUNIST KIRGIZSTANA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 (signed to press 27 Oct 86) pp 51-57

[Article by G. Galiulin, candidate of historical sciences and docent: "The City: Changes in the National Composition and Internationalization of Life of the Population"]

[Excerpt] A stable property of Soviet cities is their multinational character. Our country has virtually no cities which are inhabited by only a single nationality. One can speak only about a city being more or less homogeneous in the ethnic composition of its population, with the nationality which gives its name to the local government predominating. These predominant nationalities are traditionally called indigenous or local nationalities.

The proportion of the city's inhabitants belonging to one or another nationality, and the increase or decrease in this proportion in various cities is constantly changing as a function of the rates of natural or mechanical population growth, and of the direction of the demographic processes of consolidation, assimilation, and migration, and also as a result of what national group children of mixed ethnic parentage are counted as belonging to. All this leads to differences in the proportion of the urban population belonging to the major nationalities and ethnic groups of the union republics. USSR population census data demonstrates this. Thus, according to 1979 data, the majority of the population belonged to the indigenous nationality in 13 republics, ranging from 58.8 percent in the Tajik SSR to 89.7 percent in the Armenian SSR. The proportion belonging to the indigenous nationality was lowest in the Kazakh SSR, at 36 percent, and the Kirghiz SSR, at 47.9 percent.

From 1926 to 1959 the proportion of the population belonging to the indigenous nationality increased only in the RSFSR, Belorussian, Azerbaijan, Moldavian and Armenian SSR's, decreasing in all the remaining republics, and by a substantial amount. For example, in the Kazakh SSR the indigenous population decreased by 17.1 percent, in the Kirghiz by 26.1 percent, in the Tajik by 21.1 percent, in the Turkmen by 9.3 percent, and in the Georgian by 2.7 percent. From 1959 to 1979 the proportion of the population represented by the indigenous nationality increased in the Uzbek, Georgian, Azerbaijan, Armenian, Turkmen, Kirghiz, and especially the Kazakh SSR, where it increased

by 10 percent. In the other republics the proportion of the population belonging to the indigenous nationality tended to decrease.

The increase or decrease in the proportion of the population belonging to the indigenous nationality could not help but be reflected in the structure and rate of development of the ethnic composition of the urban population. The proportion of city dwellers varies a great deal among the nationalities in our country as a whole. The most urbanized are the Latvians, Estonians, Armenians, and Russians, of whom more than 50 percent are city dwellers. The least urbanized are the Turkmen, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Moldavians, and Kirghiz.

Our party has developed a program, based on our Leninist national policy, which has allowed the heretofore less advanced peoples to catch up with the more advanced nations in all areas of life in the shortest possible period of time. This program foresaw the high rate of industrial development, accelerated assimilation of natural resources, the tempestuous growth of science, culture, public health, education, etc. Where the indigenous population did not yet possess the requisite qualified industrial-technological workers, or the scientific, educational, cultural, medical and other trained work forces, and where it was not possible to train the indigenous population to perform such work in the short periods of time available, it was clearly essential to bring the necessary specialists from the central regions of the country.

Thus, the influx of non-indigenous individuals into a city from other areas was primarily a consequence of the need to foster the social, economic and cultural development of heretofore less advanced peoples. In connection with the industrialization of the outlying districts of the nation "enterprises in Russia were relocated...., qualified workers and specialists were sent out to work with the workers of Kirghizia to build plants and cities.. and to impart their knowledge and expertise to the local population." (On the 60th Anniversary of the Kirghiz SSR and the Kirghiz Communist Party. Decree of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee, 26 April 1984. Frunze, 1984, p. 30).

The significant increase in the non-indigenous population in the republics of Central Asia and in Kazakhstan was also linked with the evacuation of a large number of enterprises and scientific and cultural institutions along with their workers, staffs and families during the years of the Great Patriotic War. By spring of 1942, for example, 716,000 people had been relocated to the cities and villages of the Uzbek SSR alone, while 600,000 had been transferred to the Kazakh SSR. During the war years, 150,000 evacuees were resettled and put to work in Kirghizia. In 1943, in accordance with a decision of the USSR Sovnarkom, more than 20,000 Polish citizens who had previously lived in the European portion of the USSR were sent to our republic. Many of the evacuees remained in these republics, mainly in the cities, after the war ended.

In the postwar period the processes of migration led to a sharp increase in the productive work force of Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan, which led to a further increase in the size of the trained work forces for industry, construction, transportation, services, and communication. The number of personnel working in scientific research and other institutions and of students in vuzes and technical schools located in cities grew rapidly.



As for Kirghizia, Kazakhstan and Turkmenia, according to the 1926 census, the proportion of city dwellers belonging to the indigenous population was relatively low: 4.6 percent in Kirghizia, 7 percent in Turkmeniya; and 14.4 percent in Kazakhstan. Those belonging to non-indigenous groups, particularly Russians, predominated in the cities of these republics. The high proportion of Russian city dwellers is related to the fact that the prerevolutionary cities in these areas were founded and developed mainly as military strongholds, centers of military and administrative government, commerce, trades, and incipient industry -- cottage and qualifying as large-scale industry. These, as well as the few institutions of education and medicine, were predominantly staffed by Russians and representatives of the other nationalities in the European regions of the country. And because of their predominance in the urban population, the majority of new non-indigenous settlers also settled in the cities; that is, they generally chose to live in a familiar milieu which did not require great efforts in order to adapt to new conditions of life.

In addition, we must bear in mind that the new settlers of European nationalities were more urbanized in their original homelands. These historical conditions affecting the ethnic make-up of the urban population, as well as the administrative constraints on power and the difficulties "minorities" [i.e., non-Russians] had breaking into urban occupations hindered the indigenous peoples from becoming city dwellers. Another factor was the indigenous population's own lack of desire to settle in the cities for economic, cultural, and psychological reasons.

All this was reflected in the further change and development in the national make-up of the urban population of the Central Asia republics and Kazakhstan. Right up until the 60s, additional workers required to augment the major scientific, technological, and industrial work forces of the cities came from non-indigenous groups, particularly Russians. Aside from Russians, the proportion of Uzbeks among city dwellers in the Kirghiz, Tajik, and Turkmen SSR's was relatively high; while the proportion of Tajiks was high in the Uzbek SSR; and of Ukrainians and Germans in the Kazakh SSR. The proportion of city dwellers belonging to the indigenous nationalities in the Central Asian region and Kazakhstan, particularly in the case of Kirghiz and Kazakhs, remained low in comparison with the other republics of the country.

However, beginning in the 1960s, the proportion of city dwellers belonging to the indigenous nationality began to increase. This growth was particularly rapid in Uzbekistan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Moldavia, and Armenia. The growth in proportion of indigenous city dwellers was slower among the Kirghiz, Tajiks, Turkmen, and Kazakhs and resulted mainly from an influx of individuals belonging to indigenous nationalities into the party, state, and administrative systems, science, culture, education, and also into the universities and other educational institutions. As a result, the proportion of Russians in the cities has decreased or stabilized in almost all republics.

In recent years, the multinationality of the populations of the cities is one of the most characteristic phenomena of Soviet society. The most international population can be found in the capitals of the union and

autonomous republics, in many large administrative-cultural and industrial centers, and in new cities.

The ethnic diversity of the population of cities is a progressive phenomenon, the natural consequence of population migration, the increasing exchange of work forces among the republics and the internationalization of all aspects of the life of Soviet society, which is based on the social, economic, political, and cultural fellowship and mutual assistance, and on the education of "workers of all nationalities in the spirit of the inviolable principles of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism" (Gorbachev, M.S. The Living Creation of the People. Moscow, 1984, p. 31).

As a result of these factors, and also under the influence of the creative, transfiguring force of the international population of the cities, internationalist characteristics have become an integral part of the make-up of all city dwellers. City life offers members of the population all they need for their productive, and social-political activities, as well as a broad selection of occupations, hobbies, leisure activities, social groups and opportunities for spiritual, scientific and technological creativity regardless of ethnic affiliation. It integrates the multiplicity of social relationships among national communities into a unified whole, and injects common international characteristics into their lives.

At the same time, in addition to general characteristics, city dwellers also have national characteristics. Internationalization, as the most important characteristic of city dwellers, does not replace these, since the international cannot exist without the national. The interaction between them is one of the diverse forms in which the dialectics of the general and specific manifest themselves in urban life. Along with the general characteristics inherent in all city dwellers there are also individual traits. These manifest themselves in the life of the major sections of the city's population -- the working class, intelligentsia, and other social and ethnic groups, that is, in relatively stable, objectively based human communities and their individual representatives. City dwellers' national traits can be observed in the traditions and customs of their daily lives, in the interiors of their apartments, their clothing, ways of behaving, tastes, habits, life styles, spiritual culture, etc.

However, the presence of certain specific national traits does not negate the common, fundamental traits characteristic of the unified nature of the life of multinational city dwellers. The national is increasingly enriched by the international and national differences are growing steadily weaker under the influence of the process of internationalization, and the similarities in the lives of the ethnic groups composing the urban population. Common traits prevail in the modern city dweller, traits which are foreordained by the nature of socialism, and by the social and national policy of the CPSU, which is directed at the creation of optimal conditions for the work, daily life, relaxation, and leisure of all workers regardless of national affiliation in accordance with the principle of "everything in the name of mankind, for the good of mankind."

Socialism has intensified the internationalization of all aspects of the lives of the urban population, regardless of the historically determined characteristics of the ethnic groups which compose this population, and determined by the homogeneity of its social structure and the indivisible sway of social relationships based on common ownership of property by the people; the commonality of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the ideals of Communism and the relationship of friendship and brotherhood among the workers of the city belonging to different nationalities and ethnic groups, reared on the principles of internationalism, comradeship, and mutual aid; the unity of the workers and the intelligentsia, regardless of national affiliation, with regard to their basic interests, beliefs and goals, and the manifestations of common Soviet characteristics of behavior, character, morals, outlook, deeds and actions.

The process of internationalization of various social and ethnic groups within the urban population is linked to their spiritual progress and the education of the new man. This creates the conditions for rapid development of the culture of all ethnic groups of city dwellers on the basis of mutual influence and mutual enrichment of the progressive traits of national cultures, and facilitates the establishment of relationships of friendship and brotherhood among the workers of different nationalities and ethnic groups.

"The Russian language has long been a powerful force acting to bring the national and ethnic groups of the Soviet Union together by furthering communication among them... By means of this language, millions and millions of people belonging to dozens of nationalities have gained access to a common culture uniting mankind and have made their own unique contributions to it," (Aliyev, G.A. The Historical Rightness of Lenin's Ideas and Deeds. Report to a Commemorative Meeting in Moscow, celebrating the 115th anniversary of Lenin's Birth. PRAVDA, 23 April 1985.) The widespread use and study of the Russian language by city dwellers has important practical and political significance, for example, in areas such as the redistribution of labor forces on a national scale, young people's service in the Soviet Army, or the learning of skills, etc.

One of the clearest manifestations of the thorough internationalization of the social life of the country and each republic within it is the growth of international mixed marriages, a phenomenon which is more characteristic of the cities. Between 1959 and 1979, the number of urban families in which the partners belonged to different nationalities more than doubled, while the number of such families in rural areas increased by a factor of one and a half.

In 13 of the union's republics the number of ethnically mixed urban families has increased continually. Between 1959 and 1979, the proportion of ethnically mixed families per 1000 families increased by 24 in the RSFSR, 36 in the Ukrainian SSR, 58 in the Belorussian SSR, 26 in the Uzbek SSR, 64 in the Kazakh SSR, 48 in the Lithuanian SSR, 91 in the Moldavian SSR, 58 in the Latvian SSR, 35 in the Kirghiz SSR, 64 in the Tajik SSR, 50 in the Turkmen SSR, and 44 in the Estonian SSR. During this period, decreases in the proportion of ethnically mixed urban families were observed only in the Georgian and Armenian SSRs.



Soviet society is vitally interested in a stable, spiritually and morally healthy family. For this reason the party considers it essential to continue in the future to endeavor to strengthen the family, including the ethnically mixed family, which will foster the restructuring of marital and family relationships so as to create a voluntary and equal union among people of different nationalities and to reinforce the international characteristics of their lives, work, customs, etc.

Currently the international, common Soviet element is growing stronger in all areas of urban life. This in no way denies the national. The international finds affirmation in the national, retaining its most important and best traits, the unique, progressive traditions of the peoples of the USSR, which manifest themselves in the unified culture of the Soviet people, and the way of life of the population in ways that are socialist in content, diverse in national form, and international in spirit.

The most obvious of these processes occur in cities, since cities facilitate the national as well as the international consolidation of the population and the development of a new mode of life; foster changes in the social and psychological make-up of the population and favor the formation of progressive needs. Cities in our society act as centers of international communication where the "flourishing of national and ethnic groups are organically united through multi-faceted intimacy. (Gorbachev, M.S. The Immortal Progress of the Soviet People. Moscow, 1985, p. 17).

Thus, only the joining of the international and the national, with the leading role belonging to the former, will, in the further development of the urban population, ensure the progress of people of diverse nationalities, accelerate the growth of intimacy among them, enhance the commonality of their lives, and strengthen the processes of mutual aid and the forms of international communication, etc. All this, in the final analysis, will lead to social and international homogeneity. The urban worker will play a leading role in the attainment of these goals. However, it must be noted that in Kirghizia, and also in the other republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the proportions of indigenous work forces among urban industrial workers remain low. For this reason, Soviet and party agencies must devote special attention to the further growth of indigenous urban work forces.

The further acceleration of urbanization in Kirghizia will play an important role in progress in this direction. First of all, the emphasis must be placed on the growth of small and middle-sized cities in accordance with the requirement of "Basic Directions in Economic and Social Development in the USSR in 1986-1990 and in the Period Ending in 2000," in which it is stated directly that, "Building of new industrial enterprises is to be limited in large cities, with the exception of facilities providing services to the population. The capacities for economic development of small and medium-sized cities and workers settlements are to be utilized more fully, and these cities will serve as sites for small specialized enterprises, branches and individual shops of operating plants and factories, as well as for enterprises supporting agriculture, processing agricultural products and producing goods from local raw materials." (Materials from the 27th CPSU Congress. Moscow, 1986, p. 317).

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# TURKMEN COURTS BATTLE PERSISTING BRIDE MONEY PRACTICE

ASHGABAD TURKMENISTAN ASSOCIATED PRESS in Russian 9 Jan 87 p 1

[Article by M. Annanurov, associate in the department of philosophy and law of the Turkmen Academy of Sciences, candidate of philosophical sciences: "A Firm 'No' to Bride Money!"]

[Text] Our achievements in the shaping of the new, socialist family are indisputable. Socialism liberated women from economic and social oppression, created the same opportunities for her to work, receive an education and participate in community life as are given to men. The socialist family is based on full equality of rights of men and women and their equal responsibility for the family.

Nevertheless, to this day there continues to exist in the republic such an ugly leftover from the past, one that degrades a woman's dignity, as the saying [bride money].

Here are some examples from recent cases:

In the Akchek-Tepinsskiy rayon the Kurbanov family prevented their daughter Gulzhakhan from marrying the man she loved. The girl's mother and brother, intent on giving her in marriage to a stranger, systematically threatened her, beat her up, trampled on her human dignity. Unable to withstand the brutality and seeing no other way out, Gulzhakhan committed suicide. Her brother Velmured was sentenced to five years in prison, her mother Ogulbakhar - to four.

In Yedigolinskiy rayon V. Babayeva, the mother of the bride, was convicted for receiving 8000 rubles of bride money from the groom's father O. Dzhamabayev, who was also convicted. It should be noted that the newlyweds knew and loved each other prior to the wedding.

The Serakhs People's court tried a criminal case involving the kidnapping of a girl, a minor. D. Mamedova, a female relative of the victim, was sentenced to three years for receiving bride money. A. Gaziurdyyev -- to three years for the abduction of an underage girl. B. Vellekov and Kh. Berdyev who took part in the kidnapping -

to two years. Ya. Orzduddyev, who reported the bride-money deal to the militia, was granted immunity from prosecution pursuant to an article of the USSR Criminal code, even though he participated in the abduction.

In Vokil-Sazarskiy rayon I. Artyukov, a resident of the village "Teghen-Surash", married off his son. The marriage failed, and the bride moved back with her parents. I. Artyukov filed suit with the rayon people's court stating that he had paid a dolya of 12,000 rubles and given expensive presents to the bride's parents. The latter were both found guilty and sentenced to two years in prison; the bride money was confiscated.

Just a few examples, but behind each are broken lives. The main culprit is the dolya.

The dolya originated with the emergence of marriage by agreement. Prior to the wedding the groom gave presents to the kindfolk of the bride (i.e. to her relatives on the mother's side, not to the father and his relatives). These presents were regarded as ransom for the girl being let go. In those days the family considered each member a unit of the workforce. Giving the woman away in marriage, it demanded appropriate compensation.

In the past marriages were almost never made without payment of the dolya. It was one of the most important social tasks of employment of the women not only in the family, but in the society at large to sell. Because of the dolya she cannot her husband's affairs interests of all basic civil, property and political rights.

It has not yet ban the custom, but only restricted it.

The bourgeoisie and ideological foundations of the socialist society created all the necessary conditions for the complete eradication of the dolya. There are, however, a number of socio-psychological factors that do not allow this to happen. Above all it is the conservative group view that the larger the dolya, the stronger will be the family ties, the greater the maiden's worth. Some people even ask: "Is our daughter worth that? Our daughter at marriage should have received a large dolya for her!"

In our day there are people who, well aware that wife-buying is not permitted, use a barrage of explanatory arguments for the preservation of the dolya. It is hard, they say, for the organization of the wedding festivities, in reality the wife of the dolya exceeds severalfold the costs of the wedding ceremony.

Our race the dolya is all too freely a means of enrichment, live buying, a way of a set of furniture. In the Tashkent rayon of Tashkent oblast, for example, one girl, writing to her betrothed,

tells him how much kalya money her parents are demanding, states that they have no intention of throwing 7-8 thousand rubles to the wind and that the wedding can take place only after payment of the kalya.

Sometimes, when the Turkish woman is conscious of her equality with the male, when she knows the provisions of article 13 of the Constitution of the USSR and article 56 of the Constitution of the RSFSR, the kalya marriage is often concluded without parental consent. The prime cause of this is a liberal attitude to the demands of the parents, in some instances it is done on the initiative of the girls themselves. Several cases are known that almost came to a crisis and when the girl discovered that her parents were asking a smaller ransom for her than was paid for some of her girl friends. Sometimes young women take pleasure in telling others how highly they were rated. Unable to fight the degrading tradition, the young girl perceives herself as a commodity and is proud if that commodity is high-priced.

Giving a girl in marriage for ransom undermines the family's independence and complicates interfamily relations. To avoid payment of an exorbitant kalya some parents are forced to look for brides among the daughters of their closest kin. Such marriages lead to a rise in the mortality of children under one year old.

Furthermore, families that follow the kalya tradition forbid their women and girls to get an after-school education or work in production. The kalya marriage is usually performed in the shortest ritual and is accompanied by other procedures that facilitate the woman. In the matter of choosing a husband the young girl's neighbor is, in fact, a total submission to the will of her parents. After she first gets acquainted with her husband only after the wedding. He never sees such marriages end up on the rocks.

In short, the kalya, that relic of the past, is undergoing modification and adapting to the new life style and culture of the nation. It is being "dressed" in all manner of folk arts and has assumed a covert character, but its essence has not changed. Such a marriage satisfies the proprietary instincts of the man and the dependent mentality of the woman. It degrades the woman's human dignity by turning her into a piece of merchandise that can be bought or sold.

Sometimes, if the marriage is a kalyaless affair, the bride's parents turn to gossip about the groom depicting him as a stingy person of little means, or they deliberately create and maintain tension in family relations.

Some believe that neither administrative measures nor propaganda can overcome the kalya. This view is not only incorrect, it is downright harmful. Admittedly, though, many of the measures undertaken are not effective enough.

To intensify the struggle against relics of the past in the question of women's rights the Presidium of the Tuzhskiy Supreme Soviet decreed on August 27, 1974 that article 127 of the Criminal Code of the USSR be expanded to include two interconnected felonies - payment and receipt of kalya monies. This statute is actively applied, the examples cited at the beginning of this article can serve as proof. But not always. Kalya cases are very hard to pin down in that payment and receipt of the bride money are effected with the utmost caution.

Non-interference in these matters is still the rule for some functionaries of local party, soviet, komsomol and other civic organizations. What is more, some local leaders are themselves not free of the prejudice. They state in all seriousness that young families created at the parents' will are more durable and reliable than marriages for love. After all, they reason, the kalya is used to build up the material well-being of the newlyweds. But infrequently, this complacency and liberalism vis-a-vis such a harmful relic as the kalya is used by fanatically-inclined people to strengthen the position of religion. Such is the picture in the Khabarovskiy, Ilyinskii, Naime-Aliyevskiy, Kakhkshinskii, Bergen-Aliyevskiy, Kizyl-Arvatskiy, Kara-Kalinakiy and other rayons.

Among those who approve of the kalya are quite a few members of the intelligentsia, people who usually serve as paragons of the socialist way of life, pioneers in setting new standards for family life. Instead, they have become advocates for religious traditions under the guise of preserving the national cultural heritage. In Kizyl-Atrskiy rayon, for example, the director of school No. 7 in Anisim rural soviet A. Kurbandurdyev, pedagogue A. Gerasimov and G. Meladzhayev and the art director of the rayon House of culture A. Iskhannov did not simply make possible the preservation of the conservative group view, they publicized it. And totally inadmissible is the fact that the rural communists of the rayon look on the observance of religious rites and traditions with a liberal eye, some even practice it themselves. For this several people were expelled from the ranks of the CPSU.

We must look for new forces of struggle against this evil. The young generation itself must voice its firm "no" to the kalya, especially the young women. They must be well aware of the fact that they have on their side our Soviet law, our way of life, party organizations, the soviet state.

The young generation is increasingly aware of the harm wrought by the kalya and vehemently protests against it. For example, in the Melkaya "40 years of October" of the Khabarovskiy rayon four young women left their familial homes because their parents wanted to give them in marriage for a kalya payment. In groups of the parents' was choosing. In the rayon center itself, Khabarovsk, 27 girls broke with their families in the summer of 1974 in search



to marry the young men they loved. These girls' denunciation of the evil, their protest against this relic of the past, their struggle for the right to decide their own destiny were strongly supported by household committees, primary party organizations, councils for new rituals, senior citizens' groups, women's clubs and the community at large.

There is a growing tendency among the middle-aged and younger generations to marry any and all bairya deals. This applies to the inhabitants of Dekhar and Archman villages in Dzharkentovskiy rayon, the kollektives "Air" in Gosh-Tupinskiy rayon and "40 years of the future" in Ashkhabadskiy rayon, in the Kiravskiy, Tedzhenskiy, Kuvshinskiy, Dairen-Bliyskiy and several other rayons. This tendency must be strongly encouraged and broadened.

Public opinion must be made to reject and condemn the blind and dependent psychology of some family members. A very significant contribution to the attainment of this goal can be made by the councils for new rituals, senior citizens' groups and women's clubs.

The struggle against the hated bairya must be intensified by youth clubs, especially women's and girls' clubs. They should not only unmask the unnatural, inhuman nature of the bairya, but draw the young generation itself into the struggle against it because it is to the younger generation that the final say in the matter belongs.

Discussions and debates on the harm caused by the bairya, on its negative consequences, should be conducted more often. There is much that can be done in this respect by the mass media, the theater, the cinema and the material arts. Popularization of the wedding rituals that best reflect the norms and principles of the Soviet way of life must be carried out more effectively.

Many girls who failed to acquire a profession and have not become part of a labor collective easily succumb to the influence of reactionary relics of the past. Consequently, encouraging women's active participation in the work process is a key element in the struggle against the bairya.

Another weapon that should be used in the anti-bairya struggle is the new subject being taught in the secondary schools of the republic - ethics and psychology of family life.

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## PROSECUTOR ON PROBLEMS, TREATMENT OF DRUG OFFENDERS

[Editorial Report] Yerevan AVANGARD in Armenian on 1 October 1986 carries on page 2 a 1,400-word article published under the heading "Boundaries of Life Style, Ethics and Morality" by Greta Tumanyan, senior aide to the public prosecutor of the city of Yerevan, and AVANGARD special correspondent Svetlana Atian entitled "Impasse: A Story About People Who Have Failed to Grasp the Meaning of Human Existence, Worth and Dignity." The authors describe the harmful results of drug addiction. They write that young people comprise a large percentage of people using drugs and recount the personal stories of a number of drug addicts. Most of these cases involved hashish and several resulted in criminal charges. The article discusses drug prevention tactics, and recommends holding discussions in the higher grades and showing films. The authors urge that recovering addicts be given a place in the collective and that they have close supervision following treatment. They maintain that emphasis should be placed on preventing the preparation of illegal drugs rather than on destroying the narcotic-bearing plants. /6662

CSO: 1838/403

KAZAKH TU CHIEF OUTLINES CURRENT CONCERNS

PM290951 Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Apr 87 pp 1-2

[Interview with E. Zhakseiskov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Trade Union Council, by TRUD correspondents V. Gafiatulin and O. Kvyatkovskiy under the rubric: "Trade Unions: "On the Path of Restructuring": "The Irreversible Nature of the Changes"--date of interview not given, first two paragraphs are TRUD introduction]

[Text] Alma-Ata--Two main factors determine the present situation in the republic. On the one hand, Kazakhstan is one of the country's regions where the phenomena of stagnation which were subjected to a political assessment at the 27th CPSU Congress inflicted tangible economic and moral damage. Their consequences took especially deep root here and their elimination requires special efforts. On the other hand, a clear way to overcome the inertia which hampers restructuring is now being elaborated with vigor in Kazakhstan. Order is resolutely being established in the republic at the moment. In the struggle between innovation and the inertia which, in its way, remains relatively strong after building up over a long period through the mechanism of distortions and the glossing over of reality, an important role has been assigned to the Kazakh SSR trade unions. Our interview is devoted to their place in the restructuring effort, their plans, tasks, and new problems.

Question: In our conversation about restructuring and the complex struggle against the phenomena of stagnation, we cannot ignore a question which frequently recurs in the TRUD mailbag: How was it possible for the dramatic events on the streets of Alma-Ata in December to happen?

Answer: I have already spoken about these events at the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress. Indeed, an objective assessment of the situation that was developing in the republic was not made for many years and a false picture of this situation was being created. There was a great deal of talk about economic successes despite the fact that the pace of economic development had sharply declined in recent years. Achievements in international education were being extolled while in fact little was done to develop inter-nation communication, and not enough attention was paid to the republic's multinational character in the formation of student and labor collectives. Serious violations of the principles of social justice were tolerated. To the detriment of the working people's interests many residences, "small" hotels, and country houses for

leading personnel were built and maintained and housing was squandered. A great deal of livestock belonging to the "bosses" was raised in the public sector herd. There was wastefulness and large-scale embezzlement, and in some cases this applied even to certain republic leaders. The gulf between words and deeds had a visibly corrupting impact on a certain section of the younger generation. This "policy," apart from all else, led to the suppression of the age-old virtues of the Kazakh nation--goodwill toward all peoples and hospitality. Among the people who had a vested interest in the implementation of this kind of policy were people who occupied key posts in state establishments and in the sphere of education, the arts, and ideology.

Question: However, would you not say that what matters now are the new developments, the strengthening of truly internationalist relations which the trade unions, along with everyone else, are seeking to promote?

Answer: It is a complex problem, of course, because everything is in a state of neglect. We have been talking too long in the abstract about remarkable achievements in the working people's internationalist education. In the case of the trade unions, for instance, these achievements boiled down to listing all the nations represented in labor collectives. At the same time, bad practices were tolerated, such as the accommodation of young people in both student and workers' hostels according to their nationality. So we are now trying to establish stable labor collectives on a truly international basis.

Question: We would like to hear from you how the restructuring is progressing in the republic's trade unions, how they are overcoming the inertia within their ranks.

Answer: First of all, I would like to stress that the Kazakh working people and trade unions have sharply denounced the exposed negative phenomena and enthusiastically welcomed the resolute measures to improve the moral and political climate in the republic. This is the firm basis on which the restructuring in the trade unions is taking place. At the same time, I must be frank and admit that we have only just realized how difficult and complex this process is. It has been launched in a situation where all present chairmen, 38 or 48 oblast trade union council secretaries, and 70 percent of chairmen and secretaries of republic and oblast committees have not worked in the trade unions before. Furthermore, trade union work was for years considered the "last haven" for party and soviet leaders and economic managers who had been in trouble of one kind or another. Here people recommended "from above" whiled away their time until retirement. At the same time, in the last 6 years alone, 308 Kazakhs graduated from the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement but only 100 of them work in the trade unions. On the one hand, people were selected for studies haphazardly, and on the other they were subsequently forgotten, and no provision was made for employing them. In the Kazakh Trade Union Council itself there are only eight graduates from the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement, and in the republic committees there are only two.

A worthless style of work developed over many years. The Kazakh Trade Union Council was used as a kind of lecture center, heckling and bullying were its



dominant tactics, and too much importance was attached to conferences and to a quantitative approach to work. It got so bad that some emissary or other of the Kazakh Trade Union Council was visiting Dzhambul Oblast, for instance, every day. Up to 70 percent of trade union officials' time was taken up with the compilation of various kinds of reports and information sheets for the republic headquarters. What did this kind of style of work lead to? Well, for instance in the Karaganda Karbid Production Association trade union committee it led to the compilation of 25 volumes of information sheets and reports for leading emissaries from Alma-Ata--reports for every occasion, so to speak. In Chirchik and Aktyubinsk Oblast dozens of initiatives were imposed from above....

Naturally, the situation cannot be rectified overnight, but we are steering a firm course toward transferring all work to primary organizations and labor collectives, enhancing the role of presidiums and plenums, and strengthening the trade unions' cadre core. Literally in the last few weeks, three new department chiefs and one deputy chief have appeared in the Kazakh Trade Union Council apparatus, trade union officials promoted "from below," from the ranks, on the basis of good reputations that they have earned for themselves. In Guryev Oblast two oblast committee chairmen earned their posts on the same principle. The secretary of the Chirchik Medical Workers Union oblast committee was elected in open ballot from among several candidates. The certification of trade union leaders is under way.

Another problem in cadre matters is the appointment of nonparty people to trade union posts. In the last few years artificial barriers were erected in this area. This has resulted in a situation where not one of the oblast trade union council chairmen or secretaries is a nonparty person. Meanwhile, there are plenty of experienced specialists at the local level who are skillful organizers and politically and morally mature. Too few people tempered in labor collectives are engaged in trade union work. In the trade union council apparatus and republic and oblast trade union committees they are in the minority. The first steps in this direction are being taken now. Thus, A. Zelenkov, leader of a team of excavator operators at the Ekibastuzgol Association's north open-pit mine, has been elected secretary of the Kazakh Trade Union Council. Yet on the whole, the appointment of workers and peasants to trade union posts is not yet a general phenomenon. The reserve for leading posts in the trade union now comprises more than 3,000 people. They include many nonparty people and women.

Question: What, in your opinion, is now giving strength to trade union officials and active members?

Answer: The firm belief in the irreversibility of the changes which are under way. The scale, persistence, and revolutionary courage with which the new leadership of the republic Communist Party Central Committee is tackling its work, and the constant assistance of the Central Committee. The Central Committee Bureau has examined the work of the Kazakh Trade Union Council on all the main social problems and expressed important advice and criticism on a number of points. After a long break we feel genuine party support and a desire

to strengthen the prestige of the trade unions, and we are aware of our enhanced independence expressed not in words but in actions and hence of our real responsibility.

Regular meetings between Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee secretaries and leading trade union officials are becoming a tradition. Thus, it was decided at one of these meetings to hold an enlarged session of the Kazakh Trade Union Council Presidium in May, with Central Committee Buro members and ministers participating, to discuss measures to improve labor safety and increase the personal responsibility of sector and enterprise leaders. This is necessary because the rate of industrial accidents in the republic is one of the highest in the country-- although trade union demands in this sphere have frequently been ignored. At these meetings our proposals for a package of measures radically to improve supplies of work clothes and shoes to the working people and to provide them with all the necessary sanitation and hygiene facilities were supported.

Question: Judging by our conversations and meetings during our recent assignments as journalists in various parts of the republic we can testify that the measures to put an end to various kinds of abuses and firmly to establish social justice are welcomed by all and sundry like rain after a protracted drought. Let us now identify the "focal points" on which the attention of trade union organizations is concentrated.

Answer: Housing. The Food Program. Health care. Law and order. I could go on, of course, but these are the most important ones.

Question: Could you give details, at least on some of them?

Answer: If you like. You wrote in TRUD that the "Housing-91" program is being implemented in the republic. Its aim is to provide housing for all families on the waiting list at the beginning of the current year during 1987-1991 in cities, and earlier in the countryside. In order to achieve this, 16 million square meters of housing in addition to the plan are needed. With the participation of the trade unions, programs to this effect have been compiled at virtually all enterprises, in cities and oblasts, and in all national economic sectors and efforts to find financial reserves, means, and materials are under way. Within a short time, 247 "small" hotels, 84 country residences, 414 departmental guest apartments in residential houses, and 22 hunting lodges used by a narrow circle of "leading comrades" for their amusement have been handed over to worker families with many children and for other social needs. The trade unions are going to make sure that people on the waiting list are dealt with strictly in turn. In the republic where for many years the provision of the population with housing was 18 percent below the average level for the country as a whole, one-fifth of the people featuring on the waiting list on 1 January 1987 will receive apartments within the current year. These are the sort of reserves that have been kept secret for years!

In order to bring these reserves into play we are restructuring the organization of competition, including the requirements of the housing program in its conditions, and encouraging collectives to exceed the annual plans for the commissioning of housing by at least 30 percent and to commission at least 20 apartments on every kolkhoz and sovkhoz. Trade union committees are assuming responsibility for the organization at enterprises of teams and sections for the construction of housing and the establishment of subsidiary production facilities for the manufacture of construction materials. People on the waiting list are being actively involved in finishing off the apartments. We try to back valuable initiatives and progressive experience. Thus, for instance, the republic Ministry of Construction has proposed to organize round-the-clock work at enterprises manufacturing large panels for housing construction, rural construction workers have launched an initiative to ensure ahead-of-schedule completion of enterprises manufacturing construction materials, and the Kazakh Institute for Planning Civil Construction in Rural Areas is drawing up documentation for housing construction free of charge. Openness in the distribution of housing is being ensured.

It is deemed expedient for the Kazakh Trade Union Council, oblast trade union councils, and republic trade union committees to examine monthly the work of leaders of ministries, departments, organizations, and enterprises in the implementation of the housing construction program. The Kazakh Trade Union Council Presidium has already discussed reports submitted by the republic Gosagroprom, the West Kazakhstan Railroad Administration, and the Tselinogradselmash Association. Together with republic party leaders we have brought together representatives of more than 150 families who badly need to improve their housing conditions and organized serious discussion between them and the soviet and trade union leaders and economic managers who are responsible for the solution of these families' problems. We will continue this practice.

At a session of the Kazakh Trade Union Council Presidium scheduled for April, to be attended by Gosplan, Gosstroy, and Kazakh SSR Ministry of Construction officials, it is planned to discuss the question of the provision of housing for families with many children, of which there are quite a few in Kazakhstan. Standard apartments are unsuitable for these families because they do not offer enough space, and this problem could get worse in the future because the minimum rates for floor space are going up in the near future.

Question: The changes taking place in the republic are impressive. Take the food situation, for instance. An insurmountable question, it would seem! What rigid targets there were on this account just a year ago: Kazakhstan, it was said, must provide meat and grain for almost half the country, which simply cannot manage without Kazakh mutton and the "Kazakh billion" [quintals of grain]. Consequently, it was necessary to procure this billion at any price, and this--as everyone knew--would result in orders and other honors for the leadership. Forage was procured and seed grain was laid in and then, unknown to the public, mixed feeds were requested from the state. Market supplies of meat consumption per capita have decreased by 4 kg over the past 12 years.

Answer: Some 200,000 republic trade union activists have been instructed to subject the entire trade network to exacting, effective surveillance. The distribution of food products is also to be monitored by the trade unions. However, the trade unions are shifting the focus of their work with the Food Program to the crux of the main problems, namely to the fields and the livestock units. We are orienting people above all toward the above-plan production of agricultural produce, explaining to them that all the increases are to be sold solely to the local population.

This year is to mark the turning point in the fate of the collective contract on republic Gosagroprom farms. The collective contract is now in use in 67 percent of crop production subdivisions and 50 percent of livestock raising collectives. However, in a number of oblasts the results of contract teams are below the republic average. We are trying to avoid formal "involvement." Especially in rural areas, the trade unions are engaging in a veritable hunt for experience. Competition among the republic's oblasts is being revived, and contracts for labor competition with collectives of developed agricultural regions in other republics are being drawn up. There was nothing like this before here.

Question: Nonetheless, the results of restructuring could be better. What would you describe as the main "hampering factors"?

Answer: Answer: The main hampering factor is the burden of old habits, which not all people seem to be able to cast off quickly and without difficulty. This also applies to the trade unions and their close and not-so-close partners. Many economic managers and trade union leaders have gotten used to striving for the fulfillment of only those indicators which are "required." Take housing, for instance. If you commission a certain amount of housing above the plan, your work is rated as "successful." However, the question of how far this extra housing has shortened the waiting list, or whether it has shortened it at all, is considered of secondary importance. The struggle for mere figures, for "meeting the indicator," proved a real moral catastrophe. This is all the more true since social sphere indicators were by no means considered a priority. What did this lead to?

Here is a recent example. Not so long ago the Chimkentshina Production Association was set up. It has 6,000 employees, and one in three is on the waiting list for housing. The workers rightly describe the enterprise, set up in accordance with the "truncated" option, as a misfit. How many such "misfits" are there in the republic today! They are all the result of complacency. And it was precisely complacency bordering on blatant irresponsibility in questions pertaining to the legitimate interests of the working people which has resulted in substandard health care in the republic, in laggard sanatorium and health resort services, and an uneven and fitful solution of socioeconomic questions in different regions.



The main conclusion we draw from this for our practical work is the following: We must resolutely restructure the mentality of our cadres and support those who work conscientiously and firmly uphold the interests of the people and the common cause. We must encourage each and every person to join in the restructuring, promote purity of aspirations, assess the real value of efforts, and ensure the irreversibility of the transformations which are currently taking place in the republic.

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EASTERN STUDIES UNDERGOING RESTRUCTURING IN UZBEKISTAN

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 11 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by N. Ibragimov, doctor of philosophy, professor of Tashkent State University, in the column "The Decisions of the 3rd Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee--Into Life": "Eastern Studies on the Paths of Restructuring"]

[Text] The restructuring places special tasks before the orientalists. Along with the interdisciplinary character, the complexity of Eastern studies as a science is determined by the fact that it not only seeks to probe deeply, but is also directed toward the present and even the future.

During the past few years, a whole series of new directions have taken shape, which meet the contemporary requirements of science and practice. As a rule, they are distinguished by a high degree of specialization, which at times serves as the basis for the contraposition of "modern" and "traditional" Eastern studies. However, such an approach is methodologically incorrect and does not correspond to the real practice of the scientific process. As was noted at the All-Union Conference of Orientalists in Baku, the greatest harm to our science may be inflicted by attempts to counterpose the two organically interrelated parts of Eastern studies--the classical and the modern one.

It is precisely a profound knowledge of the mechanism of the "traditional complex", as practice shows, which is necessary in the forecasting of the processes of the contemporary socio-political development of the countries of the East. This is indicated, in particular, by the events in Iran, when--in the conditions of the accelerated development of the country along the capitalist path during the period of the Shah's rule--religion "unexpectedly" (if, of course, we do not examine the process of historical development as an integral system) became a real factor and instrument of politics. Orientalists know a multitude of examples of such interdependence.

The last few years have been marked by the publication of basic generalizing studies of Soviet orientalists on the most urgent problems of the present development of the Afro-Asiatic states. If not a lag, then, let us say, a shortage of our research with respect to the study of the contemporary role of the countries of the East in world politics and international relations and the analysis of the all-round cooperation of the Soviet Union with these countries is becoming noticeable today against the background of a decisive turning-point of the leading

Eastern studies centers. True, a series of articles, monographs, and investigations on problems of the modern literature and culture of the peoples of the East abroad have been published. But a shortage remains. For the volume of the work being done by no means reflects all the possibilities which our scholars possess.

In our republic, a number of such directions of Eastern studies as the study of literature, the study of medieval history, textual criticism, and source study are developing most intensively. In the Institute of Eastern Studies of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences, work is continuing on the study of the composition of texts and translations of the works of the great medieval scholars and thinkers of the East, such as Beruni, Ibn-Sina, Al-Farabi, and Al-Khorezmi. The same may be said about the work of the collectives of the Institute of Language and Literature and the Institute of Manuscripts for Research on the Classical Uzbek Literary Heritage. Unfortunately, these scientific investigations have been conducted for a number of years by well-known specialists; the influx of young manpower is extremely weak.

The 3rd Uzbek CP Central Committee Plenum noted a number of important aspects, to which the orientologists of the republic must turn their most serious attention. It is impossible to limit ourselves to the study and popularization of only a number of individual historical personalities, who represent on the whole an insignificant period of history. The subject matter of Eastern studies research (historical, textual criticism, literary criticism, and others) must be broadened both chronologically and in terms of problems; it is necessary to illuminate both the period before the "classical" Middle Ages, including ancient history, as well as the new and the modern period. On the other hand, it is evident: Not only thorough investigations of the positive aspects of history are necessary, but also of the negative aspects; it is precisely a defect which produces such negative phenomena as idealization of individual periods and personalities.

And we must begin the work with the increase of the role and significance of history in international and patriotic education. This is possible, above all, with the intensification and the expansion of research, the increase of the number of skilled [kvalifitsirovannoye] publications on historical, including Eastern studies, problems, and the publication of works, with commentaries, on the history of the social thought of the peoples of the East. The latter acquires special importance in connection with the intensification of the attempts of our class enemies to make extensive use of some aspects of history for hostile purposes. Not having at their disposal the skilled scientific publications of Soviet orientologists on questions of one sort or another, some people prefer to make use of foreign sources of "historical" information.

"It is vitally necessary for us to effect a decisive change of the entire front of social science with the face toward practice," M. S. Gorbachev emphasized at the conference of the social scientists. This connection for orientologists is a radical expansion of the subject matter of research, the broad popularization of the scientific achievements, and the active participation in lecture and propaganda work.

The formation of the new political thinking is impossible with the aid of the old methods. One of the most important steps here, the necessity of which

became acute some time ago, is the establishment of close and effective coordination both within the institutions of the Eastern studies complex and with practical organizations, which are in need of scientific-methodological and other support on the part of specialists.

The restructuring for orientalists also signifies a new approach to the tasks of personnel training. In the republic there exists a network of institutions providing special training. However, for the time being this is only a network of individual links, but not an integral, coordinated system. The training of the future orientalists must be conducted in accordance with a single, integral program, which takes into account the practical needs for specialists of diverse profile and specialization, on a high quality level of teaching with the use of technical means of instruction. It is also important to quickly publish, on the corresponding subject matter, interesting school textbooks, readers, as well as basic educational publications.

In a word, the restructuring in Eastern studies is an integral, comprehensive examination and the solution of problems in a non-explosive dialectical connection. It is on this foundation that our work must be built.

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M.J.